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Czech, Slovak Banks Hold First Joint Meeting

AU1201144093 Prague CTK in English 2130 GMT 8 Jan 93

[Text] Prague Jan 8 (CTK)—At the moment we are certainly not ready to execute a currency separation from Slovakia and it would take some time before we can get ready, governor of the Czech National Bank (CNB), Josef Tosovsky, said at the first session of the Monetary Committee in Brno, South Moravia, today.

The Committee comprises three Czech and three Slovak government bankers and acts as a coordinating body for the currency union between the new republics.

Tosovsky said he was surprised by too much attention being paid to stamping currency in the Czech Republic. He believes that currency would be divided at a yet unspecified moment, but in worst circumstances he does not want to see anyone being hurt by the separation unnecessarily.

We expect that the common currency would last until the summer or till the fall at the latest, we can only stamp banknotes in storage, but only a small quantity of these should bear stamps in the event of an emergency, Tosovsky stressed.

Vice-Governor of the National Bank of Slovakia (NBS) Marian Tkac said Slovakia wanted to maintain the currency union as long as possible. He added that it also greatly depends on mass media how long the common currency would last.

Concerning possible Czech claims against Slovakia, Tkac said it was unlikely Slovak deficits would be reimbursed from republic's gold or hard currency reserves.

The two sides also concurred on signing bank supervision agreements.

Tosovsky rejected a notion that the Czech Republic takes out more loans from the International Monetary Fund this year. Former Czechoslovakia has already received more than 1.5 billion USD since 1991 which is more than enough, he said.

The governor also said that the amount of currency in circulation fell under 100 billion crowns (3.45 billion USD) by the New Year's. However, he was unable to ascertain the amount of circulation in each republic.

EBRD Grants Membership to Czechs, Slovaks

LD1501221093 Prague CTK in English 1940 GMT 15 Jan 93

[Text] London Jan. 15 (CTK)—The European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD) today accepted the Czech and Slovak Republics within the organisation as separate successor states to Czechoslovakia, a bank spokesman confirmed today.

It was more of a formality...there was never a moment's doubt about membership of the two successor states, a source close to the bank's governing board told CTK.

The EBRD, since its founding two years ago, invested over 223 million USD in the former Czechoslovakia, in the form of loans and through the purchase of bonds.

The source contacted by CTK said the EBRD considers the Czech Republic as the most attractive country in east and central europe for its operations, particularly for...its stability and the convenient structure of its economy. He said the EBRD's reluctance to take part in new projects with the Czech Republic last year was caused by uncertainties regarding Czechoslovakia's breakup and the position of the Federal Government.

The EBRD was scheduled to extend 216 million USD in loans for the development of Czech and Slovak telecommunications and highway modernisation.

The EBRD's largest single extension of credits to the former Czechoslovakia went towards the Volkswagen-Skoda buy-out. The largest direct capital investment was applied towards the creation of a joint-venture between Czechoslovak airlines and the French national carrier Air France.

Czech Premier Vaclav Klaus, during his October 1992 meeting with bank President Jacques Attali, emphasized that the Czech Government would not provide state guarantees for the EBRD's operation in the Czech Republic, giving preference to direct cooperation between bankers from the private sector without state interference.

It is certain that loans for the development of telecommunications and highways and eventually for the completion of an oil pipeline from Ingolstadt will be the EBRD's last operations in the Czech Republic with state guarantees, a well-informed source from the bank's governing board said.

Czech, Slovak Trade Unions Not To Split

AU1501145693 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 13 Jan 92 p 2

[Unattributed report in the "News" column: "Trade Unions Will Not Split"]

[Text] Despite the division of the state, the Czech and Slovak Confederation of Trade Unions will continue its activity. This was agreed at a meeting involving the Presidium of the Czech and Slovak Trade Unions, the Presidium of the Bohemian and Moravian Chamber of Trade Unions, and the management of the Assembly of the Confederation of Trade Unions in the Slovak Republic at their most recent meeting on Monday [11 January].

Premier Assesses Chemical Weapons Convention

AU1701153093 Tirana ATA in English 0903 GMT 17 Jan 93

[Text] Tirana, January 17 (ATA)—On January 16, Premier Aleksander Meksi, who attended the signing ceremony of the convention on the ban and abolishment of chemical weapons returned home.

He stated in the press release: "It is common knowledge that Albania neither possesses nor does it intend to produce chemical weapons. The signing of this convention is of very great importance, because it is the first of the a circle of conventions which will ban even the other mass extermination weapons in the future. Our participation in this conference was fruitful, because there we had the chance to meet with representatives of the governments of different countries such as the French foreign minister, the Greek foreign minister, the foreign minister of Malta, the deputy premier and foreign minister of Turkey, etc. We discussed with them all the problems concerning us, in the first place the maintainance of peace in the Balkans and secondly the bilateral relations with each of these countries.

"During these meetings we managed to settle pending problems and seek new contacts."

More on Visit by Croatian Assembly Chairman Mesic

Serreqi, Mesic View Relations

AU1501153193 Tirana ATA in English 0917 GMT 15 Jan 93

[Text] Tirana, January 15 (ATA)—The Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Albania Alfred Serreqi met on January 14 the chairman of the Croatian Parliament Mr. Stipe Mesic and the Croatian delegation.

Relations between our two countries, Minister Serreqi said, are suggested not only by their regional position, the ancient traditions, cultural and spiritual inheritance, but also by the latest developments and real, possible complications in the region, as a result of the Serbia aggression.

We are sure that the new vision of these relations between our two countries which have just come out of the communist dictatorship, despite the existing changes, will contribute to the establishment of new circumstances in the region and broader, hoping that a political solution in our hot and threatened region will avoid the extension of the conflict, preventing a new Balkan war.

Approving this option, the chairman of the Parliament of Croatia Stipe Mesic said that the international organisations should devote a greater attention to the situation in the region, stressing that a new war in the Balkans would be only a step far from the war in Europe.

The presence of the Albanians in Croatia, Mr. Serreqi said, and their integration to the new society with all rights is another factor which determines a new development in the mutual relations.

The chairman of the Croatian parliament pointed to a possible economic cooperation in special fields, such as tourism and others, to which the Croatian party is fully committed.

Ministers, Mesic Discuss Cooperation

AU1501160493 Tirana ATA in English 0922 GMT 15 Jan 93

[Text] Tirana, January 15 (ATA)—The chairman of the Croatian Parliament Stipe Mesic had also talks with the Minister of Economy and Finances Genc Ruli. They concentrated on the bilateral economic cooperation. The Croatian party presented the fields of cooperation, such as energy, copper industry, chemical industry, marble, exchange of goods, mass consumer goods, tourism, etc.

The Croatian party stressed that it is good of Croatian firms and enterprises to display an exhibition, so that the Albanian firms and people know before hand the Croatian products. Mr. Ruli accepted the proposal and laid the stress on the need to institutionalize the economic-trade relations, to reach a state cooperation agreement which would serve as a base for other things.

Important in our economic development is to pick up serious partners who know each other and negotiate to the mutual interest, the Minister of Mining Industry and Resources Abdyl Xhaja said at the meeting with the chairman of the Croatian parliament. They discussed concretely the fields of cooperation in oil researches and drilling, consolidation of the supply base in Durres, opening of fuel distribution stations.

The Minister of Transports and Telecommunications Fatos Bitincka presented to the Croatian party concrete proposals for an agreement on air transportation through Tirana-Zagreb-Tirana line, the operation of a ferryboat to Croatia, etc. They also stressed the need of exchanging delegations and qualification in the respective fields.

Egyptian Foreign Economic Official Visits

AU1601201093 Tirana ATA in English 1813 GMT 16 Jan 93

[Text] Tirana, January 16 (ATA)—During the four-day visit in Albania, 'Ali 'Abd-al-Fattah al-Abrashi, deputy secretary at the Ministry of Foreign Economic Cooperation of Egypt, met in separate meetings Artan Hoxha, minister of foreign economic trade and cooperation, and the vice minister of economy and finances, Robert Ceku.

In these meetings they discussed the preparations for the signing of the agreement of economic, industrial, and technical cooperation and the agreement for the protection and instigation of investments between the two countries. They also agreed to start negotiations on the removal of double tax and on the trade exchanges in free currency.

Amendments to Political Prisoners Law Adopted

AU1701213793 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1830 GMT 15 Jan 93

[Text] During sessions held yesterday and this morning, the People's Assembly approved a bill on amendments to Law No. 7,514, dated 30 September 1991, the Law on Innocence, Amnesty, and Rehabilitation of Former Political Prisoners and the Persecuted. To better inform our listeners of the content of this law, we are reading it as it was approved by the Assembly:

Article 1.

All persons convicted of political crimes and Albanians who were handed over to Yugoslav courts are innocent and considered not guilty for political, moral, and economic reasons. Those who have died in investigation offices; those executed with no trial; those killed in clashes with forces of dictatorship and at the border; and those convicted for slander and insult against the highest party and state bodies for violating Decree No. 7,459, dated 22 January 1991, the Decree on Respect for and Defense of Monuments Related to National History and State Symbols and for violating Decree No. 7,408, dated 31 July 1991, the Decree on Rallies, Gatherings, and Manifestations of Citizens in Public Places also profit from this law. Persons convicted for crimes against the state who previously held important state and party positions do not profit from this law, but rather according to the definitions that the Council of Ministers will make. [sentence as heard] Those persons have the right to ask that their case be reconsidered to test their activity against the communist dictatorship. Every political and social force, state organ, group of people, or individual can request a reexamination of their case so as to dispose a political convicted person of the profits from this law. **Article 2.**

Article 2 should be amended as follows: All Albanian nationals who escaped from Albania during the war or after the country's liberation until 8 May 1990 due to their convictions or political activity are considered innocent.

Article 3.

These supplements are added to Article 5:

1. A paragraph is added to point A after the second paragraph, which reads: Regarding pensions, the time of suffering during imprisonment should be recognized as double the time of imprisonment.

2. Another point is added before point D, having this content: Former political prisoners should be given compensation for the time spent in prison or labor camps according to the rules that will be established by special provisions in conformity with international criteria, as well as the difference of pensions since the time of having the right to collect it.

3. Another point is added before point V, which reads: The compensation for the time of staying in prison or labor camps, as well as the difference of pensions, can be given to families or legitimate heirs of former political prisoners who are not living anymore.

Article 4.

Under Article 7, after the words: who are executed without trial, these words are added: persons killed in clashes with forces of dictatorship and at the border.

Article 5.

Article 7A is added, stating the following: Murder in clashes with the forces of dictatorship and at the border is testified by a decision of the court, taking into account the opinion of former political prisoners and persecutees' associations.

Article 6.

All legal provisions that run counter to Law No. 7,514, dated 30 September 1991, the Law on Innocence, Amnesty, and Rehabilitation of Former Political Prisoners and the Persecuted, and with this law are invalidated.

Deputies Comment on Changes

AU1501163193 Tirana ATA in English 1108 GMT 15 Jan 93

[Text] Tirana, January 15 (ATA)—As it was reported, the People's Assembly examined on January 14, through an accelerated procedure, the draft law on some changes to the Law on the Innocence, Amnesty, and Rehabilitation of the Former Political Prisoners and the Persecuted.

Taking the floor in the name of the parliamentary group of the Social Democratic Party, the Deputy Teodor Laco considered the draft presented as a moral compensation for the great sufferings they have experienced in the jails and internment camps of the communist dictatorship.

The Deputy Namik Dokle, in the name of the parliamentary group of the Socialist Party, valued the draft law as the most important in the architecture of the laws passed so far. The improvement made to the existing law, he continued, has values in three aspects, to correct the past by declaring innocent those who have been punished for their political views, the realisation of national unity, and lastly as an expression of the freedom of thought. The Deputy Ali Spahia in the name of the parliamentary group of the Democratic Party valued the draft law as a human contribution our society makes to the former political prisoners and the persecuted, who even in the conditions of the communist dictatorship, did not give up, did not lose the human values.

The draft law was unanimously adopted in principle, article by article and in general. According to this law, all those who have been sentenced for political crimes, those who have died while in investigation process, those executed without trials, and those killed while crossing the border are considered innocent. Those who are sentenced for organization and participation in uprisings, organization and participation in armed gangs, for hostile activity during the war, for organization or participation in a military conflict of coup d'etat, for espionage, terror, and diversion do not benefit from this law. The draft law excludes also those who being in leading party and state posts have committed crimes against the state, because they have been sentenced in the course of running for power and not because they opposed the dictatorship. But they are entitled the right to prove their activity against the communist dictatorship through another trial.

Bill Meets Goals of Hunger Strikers

AU1601200993 Tirana ATA in English 1821 GMT 16 Jan 93

[Text] Tirana, January 16 (ATA)—About 50 former political prisoners and the persecuted of Shkoder District ended their hunger strike on January 15. They did so when they learned that the People's Assembly adopted the draft Law on Innocence, Amnesty, and Rehabilitation of the Former Political Prisoners and the Persecuted. The strikers and all other citizens these strikers represented see in this law the realisation of their demands.

The triumph of democracy in Albania gave many rights to the political prisoners and the persecuted, which the communist dictatorship had absolutely denied them of. A law which sanctioned all their rights did not exist until now. They continued to live in great economic and financial difficulties. In a sign of protest for this situation, the political prisoners organized the hunger strike.

In an interview with the leader of the Shkoder strike Mr. Martin Leka on January 15, he said: The strike had economic and not political goals. We started the strike proceeding from our miserable conditions where we have lived and are still living. It was this strike that made the parliament adopt the law which was completely right. It gives us our innocence and compensation. We declare the strike over because it reached its objective.

Former Property Owners Rally, Demand Restitution

AU1501192393 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1830 GMT 15 Jan 93

[Arben Karapici report]

[Text] [Announcer] Former property owners, now unjustly left empty-handed, held a peaceful protest. As our reporter Arben Karapici reports, they demand the return of their properties. Let us follow the report:

[Karapici] [Shouts heard] Chanting "We Want Properties, We Want Properties" and "Down With Converted Communists," more than 2,000 former property owners, now unjustly left with nothing, were gathered at the Tirana Sports Palace this afternoon.

Organized by the National Front Party [PBK] and the Tirana branch of the Property With Justice Association, this peaceful protest stressed that formulating a fair solution to the property question is a test for genuine democracy and democratic government.

Isa Boletini opened the meeting in the name of the PBK. He said that the attitudes and reactions of the people, associations, and parties concerning the inviolability of property rights should encourage parliament to solve this problem properly.

Many speakers at the meeting compared the Land Law approved by parliament to the 1946 communist agrarian reform. The meeting pointed out that there are only two options: either return to the communist centralized economy, or go toward genuine capitalism with its own capitalists who are legitimate property owners rather than new neo-communist owners.

Taking the floor, Abedin Preza mentioned several of the reasons why the Land Law is not being applied. He said that the PBK is fighting relentlessly to return land and other properties to their legitimate owners. Preza said that this is the first prequisite for genuine democracy.

Rrapo Hajredin Danushi, chairman of the National Property With Justice Association, also addressed the meeting. He said:

[Begin Danushi recording] [applause] We have made and will continue to make clear to all political parties that we will favor the party that contributes to resolving the property question. [end recording]

[Karapici] Danushi then said that the group has addressed a petition to parliament signed by more than 110,000 people.

Dozens of police officers stood outside the Sports Palace. The meeting passed without incident.

Bill on Return of Property Readied

AU1501220493 Tirana ATA in English 1125 GMT 15 Jan 93

[Text] Tirana, January 15 (ATA)—Many Albanian citizens are greatly concerned asking when their nationalized houses and sites will be given back to them.

In regard to this concern of the citizens, Premier Meksi declared that the draft law for the return of these ownerships has been prepared. Actually opinions are being taken from international institutions and it is expected that by the second half of January the government will approve this draft law and send it to the parliament for discussion and adoption.

Cabinet Approves Changes in Prices, Tariffs, Aid

AU1601200293 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1830 GMT 15 Jan 93

["Statement by the Council of Ministers on Amendments to Several Prices and Tariffs, Regulation of Wages, Increase of Pensions, Aid, Social Assistance, and Social Help for Persons Left Unemployed From the Application of the Economic Reform;" issued in Tirana; date not given]

[Text] To further develop the economic reform, encourage a better supply of foodstuffs and other basic items on the domestic market, control inflation, and compensate for the increase in the prices of some articles and services, the Council of Ministers in its last meeting made the following decisions:

—To make several changes regarding prices and tariffs controlled by the state.

—To liberalize the prices of the following items: vegetable oil, sugar, rice, and laundry soap. Trade institutions are tasked with continuously following the course of these prices to avoid every artificial increase.

—The price of massive bread will not change, with the exception of massive bread produced with wheat flour of type 75 percent, which is reduced from 17.8 to 15 leks per kg.

—The price of drinkable water becomes 5 leks per cubic meter.

—The price of firewood remains the same.

—The price of coal remains the same.

—The price of electrical energy used within the permissible norm of the family's monthly consumption becomes 0.5 lek per kilowatt/hour.

—The prices of drugs will increase on an average of 30 percent as against the existing ones. We stress that the prices of the most necessary drugs of a great consumption will remain the same.

—The rents of flats will increase three times as against the existing ones.

—The prices of school books and notebooks for the eight year and middle education will increase three times as against the existing ones.

—The price of paraffin will remain the same.

—The tariffs on central heating of flats will remain the same.

—The tariffs on passengers' transportation will increase by an average of two times as against the existing ones.

—The tariffs of the telecommunication service will increase by an average of 2.5, and those of the postal service, 4.5 times.

—The price of gasoline with 66-85 octane will become 34 leks per liter, whereas with 95 octane and above will become 62 leks per liter.

—The price of diesel will become 25 leks per liter.

The new prices and tariffs will become effective on 16 January 1993, except for the prices of drugs, post-telecommunication tariffs, and prices of subscribed travelling tickets, which will take effect on 1 February 1993. The new rents for state dwellings, however, will take effect on 1 March 1993, which coincides with the beginning of the privatization of these dwellings.

By a special decision of the Council of Ministers, a regulation was passed regarding wages of the employees of budgetary institutions. This measure was taken to better adjust the difference in salaries of these employees with those of the nonbudgetary enterprises, joint ventures, and private subjects. Nevertheless, even after this regulation, the level of wages continues to be low.

The Council of Ministers decided to increase by 25 percent the pensions and aid for workers and employees who profit from Law No. 4,171, dated 13 November 1966, on State Social Insurances. Social assistance and help for persons who are left unemployed from the application of the reform will increase by 15 percent.

The regulation of wages at budgetary institutions and the payment of social assistance will take effect on 16 January 1993, whereas the increase of pensions and aid becomes effective on 1 February 1993. The Council of Ministers also passed to parliament for approval the bill on amendments to Law No. 7,583, dated 13 July 1992, on Competences in Defining Labor Wages, which further liberates the control on the average salary of nonbudgetary enterprises.

Miners Protest at Industry Ministry

AU1501220893 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1430 GMT 15 Jan 93

[Text] A group of miners from the Valias Mine protested in front of the Industry, Mining, and Energy Resources Ministry building yesterday morning that the ministry has not provided them with good working conditions. Some 1,500 miners did not show up for work yesterday due to the lack of transportation. The director of the Interurban Buses' Fleet says this is due to the fact that the ministry owes the enterprise 800,000 leks.

Zhelev Fears 'Religious War' in Yugoslavia

AU1501220793 Sofia BTA in English 1938 GMT 15 Jan 93

[Text] Sofia, January 15 (BTA)—Interviewed on national radio this evening, President Zhelyu Zhelev of Bulgaria expressed his conviction that sooner or later the European Community will recognize Macedonia. Dr. Zhelev recalled that the EC denies recognition to Macedonia under the pressure of Greece. "Still, other people cannot dictate a name to a nation, the name by which it should call its own state," the Bulgarian president stressed. "The European Community compromised its principles," he said.

Dr. Zhelev described the situation as a paradox: Macedonia is the country which satisfies to the fullest possible extent the recognition criteria of the Badinter Commission, and yet it has not been recognized. The Bulgarian head of state pointed out in this connection that Bulgaria acted European-style, while the European Community acted Balkan-style. The Bulgarian president emphasized that Bulgaria does not apply double standards in its foreign policy. He drew an intriguing historical parallel with another independent act of Bulgarian politics: the union of Bulgaria with Eastern Rumelia in 1885.

At several points in his interview, President Zhelev indicated that Macedonia's recognition is of utmost importance for the prevention of an expansion of the conflict in the former Yugoslavia. "Under EC, UN or CSCE auspices NATO should intervene resolutely to enforce a cessation of hostilities in the territory of Bosnia and Hercegovina and bring the parties concerned to the negotiating table," Dr. Zhelev said. He recalled the repeatedly stated the Bulgarian position that Bulgaria will commit neither arms nor troops to peace-making operations in ex-Yugoslavia and its insistence that the other Balkan countries and the other neighbours of the former Yugoslavia refrain from any such commitment, too. "We want other armies to take part in peace-making operations in Bosnia and Hercegovina not because we play possum but because the involvement of any Balkan country will inevitably lead to the outbreak of a new Balkan war, which in turn will draw in the other neighbours of the former Yugoslavia as well," the Bulgarian president observed.

Dr. Zhelev sees new and rather dangerous elements in the latest developments in the territory of the former Yugoslavia. In his view, these elements show that the interethnic conflict is growing into an interfaith conflict as well. What would be even more dangerous is an internationalization of this conflict and its turning into a holy religious war between Muslims and Christians, Dr. Zhelev said. He is alarmed by the reports of the appearance of mujaheddin from Afghanistan, Iran and the Arab world. The Bulgarian head of state sees other alarming signs in the fact that President Izetbegovic of Bosnia left the Geneva negotiations to put in an appearance, if for a single day, at the Islamic Conference in Dakar, as well as in Albania's joining the Islamic Conference. All this is evidence that the Islamic world is getting embroiled into the conflict, the Bulgarian president believes. He views these actions as rather dangerous for both Bulgaria and Europe at large. "We are allowing something quite paradoxical: It so happens that we are now solving the problems of the Muslim world in the Gulf, while the Muslim world wants to solve our own problems," the Bulgarian head of state observed. He called on the EC and the United Nations to show greater determination and intervene to put an end to this war.

Berov Satisfied With Talks on Balkan Crisis

AU1601192493 Sofia BTA in English 1912 GMT 16 Jan 93

[Text] Sofia, January 16 (BTA)—Bulgarian Prime Minister Prof. Lyuben Berov expressed his satisfaction with the talks he had in Paris earlier this week with the foreign ministers of Greece, Romania and Turkey in an interview for the Panorama weekly political review of the national television.

Prof. Berov, who is acting minister of foreign affairs, was left with the feeling that these countries share a common position as to safeguarding peace in the Balkans.

In Paris the Bulgarian prime minister and the foreign ministers of Greece, Romania and Turkey reached an agreement to issue a joint declaration on Macedonia and the conflict in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

The consultations on the text of the declaration will open these days, the Bulgarian prime minister said. The foreign minister of Greece will be visiting Sofia on January 21-22. With Turkey the text will be coordinated through diplomatic channels.

"We have no intention to allow any division of Macedonia," Prof. Berov stressed.

Invited to comment on the hints at some territorial designs on Macedonia that have appeared in the Greek press of late, the prime minister said that they had not been discussed during his meeting with Greece's delegation in Paris.

Prof. Lyuben Berov answered in the affirmative to the question if Bulgaria would continue its military cooperation with Greece and Turkey. "No doubt this is the sole way of making the declaration a reality," the Bulgarian prime minister said.

Aleksandrov, Hungarian Envoy Discuss Cooperation

AU1801101693 Sofia BULGARSKA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 13 Jan 93 p 1

[Colonel Ivan Sotirov report: "Defense Minister Meets Hungarian Ambassador"]

[Text] On 12 January Defense Minister Valentin Aleksandrov met Hungarian Ambassador to Bulgaria

Sandor Szabo, who gave him a letter from Hungarian Defense Minister Lajos Fur on his appointment as defense minister. The letter expresses the conviction that relations between the two armies will continue to develop, and that cooperation will increase and contribute to further developing the traditional good contacts between the two countries.

Issues related to the security of the Danube countries and the possibility of restoring the traditional relationship among the armies of the former Warsaw Pact members were discussed during the meeting. Experience related to resolving the two countries' military-economic problems vis-a-vis the former USSR was exchanged.

Hungary is strongly interested in establishing close relations and expanding military-technical cooperation, Szabo stressed. Soon we will present a package of specific proposals in this area, he said.

Szabo brought an invitation from Fur to his Bulgarian counterpart to make an official visit to Hungary in March.

The two officials expressed their conviction that during that visit an annual plan on military cooperation could be signed. The plan will specify and expand relations between the two Armies.

The meeting was attended by Colonel Laslo Nad, Hungarian military attache in Bulgaria.

IMF Mission Opens Talks With Ministers

AU1601142193 Sofia BTA in English 1912 GMT 15 Jan 93

[Text] Sofia, January 15 (BTA)—The mission of the International Monetary Fund, headed by Mr. Annoup Singh who arrived in Sofia last night, had three meetings today: with Deputy Prime Minister Valentin Karabashev, with Finance Minister Stoyan Aleksandrov, and with the management of the Bulgarian National Bank. Mr. Gregory Dahl of the IMF mission and Mr. John Wilton, representative of the World Bank in Bulgaria, also attended the talks.

The government will draft its letter of intent and present it to the IMF next week, Deputy Prime Minister V. Karabashev told journalists after his meeting with the IMF mission.

The new letter of intent will contain the main points on which agreement with the IMF will be sought. The deputy prime minister expects some differences with the IMF, especially concerning the budget deficit. Together with the budget deficit figure, Mr. Karabashev informed the IMF mission about the projections to compensate the increase of social spendings through the tax policy and by speeding up privatization.

At today's meeting we discussed some general economic problems and the projected 1993 macroeconomic framework in view of receiving the fifth tranche of the one-year stand-by agreement which expires in March, Finance Minister Stoyan Aleksandrov announced. There was particular interest in his meeting with the IMF mission, as Mr. Aleksandrov had stated that he would insist on them agreeing to a budget deficit of 8-10 percent and about 100-120 percent annual inflation, and these are double the figures set by the IMF. The amount of the deficit has not been specified yet, but the Bulgarian side set out the arguments for its request, Mr. Aleksandrov said after the meeting.

The cooperation with the IMF should be continued in order to reach a reasonable agreement, Prof. Todor Vulchev, governor of the Bulgarian National Bank, said, commenting on his talks with the IMF mission. In his opinion, at the moment the fulfilment of last year's stand-by agreement and the receipt of the fifth tranche under it is more important than signing a new agreement. The economic measures which Prof. Lyuben Berov's cabinet intends to implement with regard to working wages and pensions, social policy and investment will also be discussed, Prof. Vulchev said.

Concerning the budget deficit, Prof. Vulchev believes that the gross national product, on the basis of which it is calculated, has not been measured realistically because a number of elements—incomes in the private sector, the shadow economy and the currency exchange rate, for example—were left out of count. The GNP should be calculated realistically which would probably result in a smaller deficit figure that the IMF would accept, Prof. Vulchev said. In his opinion, the IMF leadership will not agree on a deficit of 8-10 percent.

The necessity of rapidly increasing the budget revenue, the introduction of adequate tax legislation, the anti-inflationary policy of the Bulgarian National Bank, the policy to pursue in respect of currency exchange rates—these are the main topics of discussion at the meetings with the IMF mission which will continue next week. The IMF will insist on the Bulgarian side clarifying its behaviour at the negotiations with the Paris Club and the London Club, Prof. Vulchev said.

Meets Labor Minister

AU1801152593 Sofia BTA in English 1410 GMT 18 Jan 93

[Text] Sofia, January 18 (BTA)—Mr. Evgeni Matinchev, deputy prime minister and minister of labour and social affairs, had a meeting with Mr. Annoup Singh and Mr. Gregory Dahl, representatives of the International Monetary Fund, the government's Press Service announced. Mr. Matinchev informed the members of the IMF mission, who arrived in Bulgaria for talks late last week, about the government plans regarding incomes against the background of the expected macroeconomic parameters—a drop in production, growing inflation and unemployment. He denied any increase of incomes by

100 percent and stressed that curbing inflation would be the government's primary task. Incomes will be adjusted to past-time inflation by reducing inflation rates in accordance with the decline of production and applying a differentiated approach to the different categories of labour and professional qualifications.

The Bulgarian reform can go on if there is social consensus but on a higher level than the one reached so far, Mr. Annoup Singh said. He expressed his satisfaction with the fact that the government was willing to continue the dialogue with the trade unions and its other social partners and that it could rely on broad social support. In his opinion, at the moment the government should focus on coping with two major tasks to be able to implement its programme in the social sphere—curbing the decline of production and guaranteeing contributions to the budget. Speeding up privatization will be of special importance for guaranteeing contributions to the budget. According to Mr. Singh, the privatization process in Bulgaria is rather slow. The two sides agreed at the talks that the drafting of a package of tax and bankruptcy bills should become a priority in the government's legislative programme, the government's Press Service release says.

Mr. Singh recommended that the government should pursue a stage-by-stage policy with regard to incomes informing the people about its plans and about what they could expect. Measures should be taken to channel social benefits to those who need them most. There should be a differentiation in pensions, pensioners should be given an opportunity to work thus earning some additional income, Mr. Singh said. He expressed his hope that the government would cope with these difficult tasks.

Defense Minister Views Current Ministry Issues

AU1601144893 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 11 Jan 93 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Defense Minister Valentin Aleksandrov by Dora Chichkova; place and date not given: "Bulgaria Melts Down Tanks While Neighbors Re-Arm"]

[Text] [Chichkova] In many units the soldiers are being given two or three weeks leave because the commanders are unable to feed them.

[Aleksandrov] I have heard about this; it is terrible, but I have not yet managed to deal with this matter. On the other hand, I am against keeping the troops in the barracks all the time. One should select such a level of combat readiness at which the units have one complete combat unit available on which they can rely, while the others can be sent on leave. This is especially the case when the country faces no direct military threat. Some of the distortions and gross breaches of regulations are due to the old premise that soldiers are granted leave only as a reward.

[Chichkova] How are you combating these distortions and breaches?

[Aleksandrov] We are taking very severe action, through the prosecution service and the military courts, but also by creating elite units on the voluntary principle. The violations are occurring everywhere, but especially in the construction and transport troops. On the other hand, there are units like the airborne troops where the sense of self-esteem is different and relations are quite normal.

[Chichkova] What do you not accept from your predecessor?

[Aleksandrov] There were elements of an idiosyncratic approach that I cannot explain, but I will remain loyal and make no assessment.

[Chichkova] Is it not unusual for us to cut up our tanks for scrap metal, while Turkey is receiving tanks from Germany?

[Aleksandrov] It is indisputable that Bulgaria is not profiting from the conventional weapons treaty. Turkey and Greece are receiving weapons until they reach the quota determined for them while we are destroying equipment, which costs us a great deal of money. We have to pay this price on our road to Europe. What we will do later is a very complex political question. Regarding the tanks we have left, if they are serviceable, we have quite a few of them.

[Chichkova] Our correlation of forces, even compared with the Turkish 1st Army alone, is in no way to our advantage.

[Aleksandrov] Turkey will carry out the agreed redeployment of its forces. My Turkish counterpart is visiting Bulgaria on 25 January, and this is one of the questions that I will discuss with him.

I learned from unofficial talks with NATO specialists that from the purely military angle, their strategy for defending the Bosporus Straits zone is to have troops on both sides. Accordingly, it is unrealistic to expect the entire Turkish Army withdraw to the other side of the Bosporus.

[Chichkova] People in Europe are talking about the 7,000 tanks that can be serviced and repaired in Bulgaria, while our military plants are quietly dying due to the lack of orders.

[Aleksandrov] I have invited representatives from all the military plants for serious talks next week. They cannot expect any relief until their debts are taken over by the state, however.

[Chichkova] Why is that taking so long?

[Aleksandrov] I proposed this some time ago, when I was a parliamentary expert on the arms industry, but the government did not dare to burden the state budget further. The transformation of the debts is a very delicate financial problem. The fact is that this issue has been politicized, so that the issue, which is clear to everyone, is not being resolved.

[Chichkova] You are known as a man who holds right-wing bourgeois views, although you belong to no party.

[Aleksandrov] In a country with 2.5 million poor and half a million unemployed, it is madness to push through such a policy by force. As long as I am minister, my personal views will not affect my work. We can talk another time on what I will do and how I will live when I leave this post.

[Chichkova] I heard recently about an audit of the Defense Ministry.

[Aleksandrov] This will definitely take place, and will be carried out by external auditors. Information is available showing that no one knows what is happening with the finances in entire sectors and departments of the ministry. The lack of clear financial data in the areas of construction and the immense recreational sector make me think that many irregularities exist. We probably have internal reserves that can be applied to problems that brook no delay, such as the question of apartments for officers.

[Chichkova] Will the defense bill that has been submitted to parliament be withdrawn for revision?

[Aleksandrov] The chief of the General Staff has registered objections with the commission that largely correspond to my own views. We should concentrate intensively on agreeing on the final wording of the bill, with the help of experts, instead of repeating the whole procedure.

[Chichkova] The interrelationships among the supreme commander in chief, the defense minister, and the chief of General Staff have aroused the most arguments.

[Aleksandrov] These relationships should be formulated precisely, because they may prompt intrigues, displays of personal ambitions, and incorrect interpretations. The version proposed by ex-Defense Minister Ludzhev's legal team did not spark as many disputes and disagreements. The addition to the bill of clauses on additional structures, one of which I have abolished, was the result of personal ambitions.

[Chichkova] Can one hear an artillery barrage in support of restoring the Armed Forces Inspectorate?

[Aleksandrov] The fact that the attacks are coming from the hardliners of the right and left proves that I have hit the target. In addition, the news of the inspectorate's closure is being received well by the troops.

New Labor Minister To Emphasize Social Issues

AU1501160093 Sofia BTA in English 0918 GMT 15 Jan 93

[Text] Sofia, January 15 (BTA)—Minister of Labour and Social Affairs Evgeni Matinchev gives priority to the regulation of the activity of the National Council for Social Partnership, according to an interview he gives PRAVA I SVOBODI, the weekly of the ethnic Turks' Movement for Rights and Freedoms (DPS), on whose mandate the incumbent cabinet was formed. Mr. Matinchev, former MP of the DPS, is the only cabinet member of the movement.

Mr. Matinchev says the first bill he will move in parliament will be one on public welfare. The cabinet will carry on a clear-cut policy on social security. In particular, it will focus efforts on raising the birth rate, Mr. Matinchev says. The cabinet will prioritize the set-up of funds for the socially disadvantaged and the jobless and retraining programmes. It is planning to raise wages and pensions as "living standards have fallen to a critical point," Mr. Matinchev says.

Asked how the government intends to raise funds for these purposes, Mr. Matinchev says it "will act as it has done so far, but focus special attention on this task."

The minister also gives priority to the drafting of employment programmes for regions with compact Turkish population. He will seek help from interested Bulgarian and foreign businesses.

Former Premier Dimitrov Views 'Mistakes' of SDS

AU1701212193 Sofia OTECHESTVEN VESTNIK in Bulgarian 11 Jan 93 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Filip Dimitrov, former premier and chairman of the SDS (Union of Democratic Forces) National Coordinating Council, by Konstantsa Ancheva; place and date not given: "The Thief Will Continue To Shout Catch the Thief"]

[Text] [Ancheva] Would you please comment on Stoyan Ganev's recent statements? Certain naive people thought that the time of compromising plots was over.

[Dimitrov] The issue is not merely in replacing the government of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS], but in elegantly changing the SDS. This goal is hardly compatible with the best democratic traditions. Bulgaria was on the verge of making a great step regarding its international situation, returning the land, and beginning privatization. This applies most of all to the world's assessment of our country and the proposal on rapidly reaching a broad financial agreement. This was supposed to ensure a revitalization of our country's economy. In this context, we could have greater freedom for conducting structural reform. There is a whole complex of factors I call the great step. This step was blocked and now it is very difficult to prove why this was done. This sin could be corrected in two ways. The first way is to prove that those who toppled the government actually supported the SDS positions, something that would mean the SDS changed its positions. The other way is in dispersing people such as Stefan Savov, Edvin Sugarev, Ivan Kurtev, Yordan Sokolov, Svetoslav Luchnikov, and Ivan Kostov who recently emerged at the center of the political scene. All this prompted those actions, which will obviously develop into something else—namely concocting compromising plots about relations with the secret services in the past. All this is ridiculous, just like the rumor about my homosexuality. I have nothing against homosexuals, but this does not mean that I am one. This topic was invoked many times; apparently it is a favorite of those who plan the intrigues. In the past, the rumor was related to three SDS leaders. Now I hear that new names are involved. Then, there is the topic of collaborating with the secret services, which is also connected with me, and which apparently will diligently be developed now. Who knows what else will be done to reduce the achievements of the SDS to a null?

Stoyan Ganev likes proverbs very much. I also like them. There is a wonderful proverb—the thief shouts catch the thief. This proverb will obviously be used very much from now on. A lot of effort was made to discredit the government using this proverb. There is a claim that kickbacks were received when no deals were involved. General Asparukhov made great efforts to contribute to those stories. The president published strange and puzzling statements, to put it mildly, about compromises with his conscience and national interests. It was said that apparently nothing really happened, but a situation emerged in which something could prove to be dangerous. I draw your attention to this fact because it could be very important. I say this because from now on everything could be concocted. I understand the need of those who will fabricate various things to somehow compensate for the lack of confidence with which they were greeted. I can also expect irresponsible acts, even when they involve human lives—both figuratively and literally. I declare this in the most responsible fashion. I still cannot say whether all this will prompt a social action or whether the services that worked against the SDS and its government will succeed to retroactively create everything they need. I do not know how all this will end or what can be done. However, through you I can address the readers and tell them to expect such actions.

[Ancheva] What were the mistakes of the SDS?

[Dimitrov] We were in a great hurry. In this haste, we ignored the emergence of various ambitions within the SDS. I do not know if this was a mistake. This was the situation of the forces. Do you remember that Petko Simeonov was an idol in the SDS? Dr. Trenchev could not do anything wrong. At least as far as Trenchev is concerned, I succeeded rather quickly in understanding his behavior.

Another problem, which I do not know whether to call a mistake or not, was the intensive competition within the SDS. This had its positive and negative aspects. This competition prevented the government from succeeding many times and SDS leaders from imposing their positions, which were prudent, but had to be explained. This could hardly be understood or accepted.

Another mistake was in avoiding explanations in the given situation and simply doing the job because that was easier. This applies, for example, to the pressure from the trade unions and attempts by the government to withstand it. The statements by Dr. Trenchev disturbed the SDS parliamentary factions in many enterprises.

Finally, we failed to grasp the danger that emanated from the Movement for Rights and Freedoms [DPS]. I am referring to the withdrawal of its support.

Perhaps we made another mistake in overestimating the ability of the SDS to withstand that pressure, despite the fact that we succeeded to a certain degree.

[Ancheva] The SDS (and, more precisely, you personally) have been accused of voluntarily relinquishing the government.

[Dimitrov] You must clearly understand that in a country in which the president stated that the actions of the government and prime minister jeopardized national security interests and that he himself almost decided to hide this, thus making a compromise with his conscience, the only thing the government could do was resign. I, being responsible for my actions, did not do this, but requested that the parliament view the case with General Asparukhov. This happened three weeks after President Zhelev's interview in Boyana. Everyone remembers this interview because it was a shock. No one paid any attention to the president's television interview, despite the fact that it was remarkable.

[Ancheva] Another reproach was voiced—namely, that you almost acted in a way intended to facilitate the fall of the government because that served the interest of the people who manipulate you. Your adviser, Konstantin Mishev, was accused of working for Andrey Lukanov for many years. The government fell and Lukanov was released. This was the scheme with which Stoyan Ganev "presented" me after his official interview on Saturday [9 January]. I do not think he would mind if you comment on this statement.

[Dimitrov] Konstantin Mishev was accused of all possible sins. I think that the typhoons in various places throughout the world were the only thing that he was not accused of. This is as if one blamed Saint-Just and Robespierre for Waterloo and the Restoration. I cannot accept this. Do not forget that Dogan was already responsible for the death of the government in September. The attack of those who were affected by the government began at that time. Since then, the government, which you say that only wanted to fall, did everything to remain in power. I could say that it made a heroic effort in this aspect.

[Ancheva] Now your problems will be fully transferred to the framework of the SDS coalition. As chairman of the SDS National Council, can you succeed in convincing your partners that your actions were correct?

[Dimitrov] It has never been a great pleasure for me to be chairman of the SDS National Coordinating Council or prime minister. I have a duty that I must implement. I shall make efforts to do this properly. Whether my actions will be accepted or whether they will be criticized and condemned is something I will have to face. I could adopt any decision afterward with a clear conscience.

[Ancheva] Do you intend to propose the convocation of an SDS national conference?

[Dimitrov] A broad forum such as the SDS national conference must deal with something specific. The idea that such a forum could convene and clear a situation is not very serious. This could happen when the alternatives become clear and a selection must be made. From this point of view, the various factors must emerge first. I think that this will be possible in February.

[Ancheva] When do you think there will be elections?

[Dimitrov] It would be difficult for the SDS to presently provoke elections according to the simple scheme of a single parliamentary faction suggesting new elections. On the other hand, I cannot assess whether contradictions between those who form the present parliamentary majority could emerge and cause the fall of the government.

Dimitrov on Arms Scandal, Discredit Attempts

AU1701171493 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 11 Jan 93 pp 1, 2

[Interview with former premier Filip Dimitrov by Svetlana Bakhchevanova; place and date not given: "142 Is the Address of the Office in Which I Worked as an Attorney"]

[Excerpts] [Bakhchevanova] Mr. Dimitrov, was there really an arms scandal?

[Dimitrov] Yes, an arms scandal erupted when it was established that Ludzhev's commission allowed arms deals on the basis of forged documents and the delivery was stopped. The fate of previous deals was not clarified. All this helped Bulgaria because it proved that the government really does control the arms trade and, therefore, the restrictions imposed on us by COCOM [Coordinating Committee for Multilateral Export Controls] should be removed. Then, there was the concocted Asparukhov affairs. [passage omitted]

[Bakhchevanova] Whom do you think Stoyan Ganev was addressing in his recent statements? I am referring to the interview he gave to Ivan Garelov, and afterward, his radio interview.

[Dimitrov] Mr. Ganev spoke against many people in the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS], but his last statements, in addition to newspaper campaigns that subsequently developed in connection with rumors he disseminated in private conversations with his colleagues, were directed against me, Mr. Mishev, and perhaps some members of the government. If additional fabrications appear, we will be able to judge this with greater precision.

[Bakhchevanova] Many people associated you with those insinuations. The press prepared them for the story that you allowed the State Security to use your apartment, and so forth. Contempt is the best answer to such claims. Nevertheless, how will you erase the suspicion?

[Dimitrov] The association you point out was not accidental, and Mr. Ganev received a lot of help in this respect. It was not by accident that the number he pointed out—142—was the address of the office I occupied as an attorney. As far as the suspicions are concerned, there are at least 100 different manners of supporting them through dozens of newspapers. I will not be surprised if the documents issued by the Ministry of Internal Affairs are contested. I tend to think that the goal is simply more than discrediting certain leaders of the SDS. The accusations related to collaborating with State Security, the arms scandals, and so forth obviously are attempts to remove me and some of my colleagues in the SDS. This will ensure more peaceful sleep to those who do not like to be called traitors, but the people, nevertheless, greet them with this word. [passage omitted]

Yordanov Comments on New Cabinet, Lilov Case

AU1701202893 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 12 Jan 93 pp 1, 2

[Interview with National Assembly Chairman Aleksandur Yordanov by Lyuba Manolova; place and date not given: "The Strategist Has 48 Hours"]

[Text] [Manolova] Mr. Yordanov, how would you comment on Stoyan Ganev's statements on the Bulgarian radio and "Panorama" program?

[Yordanov] The chairman of the National Assembly does not comment on statements made by a leader of a political group!... Besides, I did not hear his statements because I was in France. This is a good reason to avoid any commentaries.

[Manolova] People here were excited by your commentary on the new cabinet in your news conference in Paris.

[Yordanov] As you know, there is only one Bulgarian correspondent in Paris and he works for DUMA. I do not know what he said, but I said the following: The cabinet of Mr. Berov was the last opportunity to elect a government. The cabinet was not supported by the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS]. The government was elected at a time when both the SDS and BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] have internal problems.

There is a confrontation between the hardliners and leftist elements in both parties. The SDS demonstrated both firmness and a staunch and prudent policy. The SDS is not a single party; therefore, it has more than one opinion. For me, this cabinet has the character of a second string team of Bulgaria's democratic changes. As long as the political forces do not form their positions and the SDS does not find a way of assuming power, the cabinet will have to resolve the country's specific economic problems to continue the reform.

[Manolova] What will be the fate of Lilov's immunity?

[Yordanov] His fate will be determined in accordance with National Assembly regulations. This is absolutely clear. The parliament is in recess, and it is up to its chairman to act. Officially, the chairman of the National Assembly is also on vacation, but as you see, I returned from Paris, and instead of vacationing in Khisarya, where there are many Bulgarian Socialist Party and SDS deputies, I immediately began to work because the case is exceptionally important. I was already in my office on Sunday [10 January], and I will act on the basis of the National Assembly's decision of 21 May 1992. The second paragraph, point five reads: When the National Assembly is not in session, its chairman must decide on whether to initiate a criminal investigation against a member of the National Assembly 48 hours after such a demand has been filed by the chief prosecutor. The decision of the chairman must be approved by National Assembly members at their first session. Naturally, I will await those 48 hours and then issue a decision. I am glad that the demand came now—quickly and on time—because on Thursday [21 January] I depart for Copenhagen for a meeting of the European parliaments' chairmen.

Parliamentary Factions Discuss Lilov Case

AU1801214193 Sofia BTA in English 2118 GMT 18 Jan 93

[Text] Sofia, January 18 (BTA)—The three parliamentary groups met separately today to decide on points of order and work out their views on Prosecutor General Ivan Tatarchev's request to strip Aleksandur Lilov of his M.P. [member of parliament] immunity, which will be put to the vote tomorrow. Along with 16 other former communist leaders, Mr. Lilov M.P. of the Bulgarian Socialist (ex-Communist) Party (BSP), faces charges in a case on the economic catastrophe and the provision of large sums in grant aid to communist and other left-wing organizations, as well as to pro-communist Third World regimes.

The BSP Parliamentary Group took a categorical stand against Mr. Tatarchev's request, describing it as unlawful. The M.P.'s of the BSP believe that a committee of inquiry would have no legal authority to go into the case. However, some M.P.'s of the BSP said in the lobby that such a committee might clarify what they described as "the vague" charges made by the prosecutor general.

Andrey Lukanov, M.P. of the BSP appeared in parliament today for the first time after his recent release from pretrial detention. He said in an interview on national radio that the next step might be to move for Tatarchev's dismissal.

After a three-hour discussion, the Parliamentary Group of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) decided to attend tomorrow's debates on "the Lilov case" and support Mr. Tatarchev's request.

Aleksandur Dzherov, M.P. of the SDS, chairman of the Parliamentary Legislative Committee, said that unlike the first part of the request which is perfect, the second part is not as Ivan Tatarchev insists that parliament specify house arrest as a restraint measure. According to Mr. Dzherov, this should be decided by the Prosecutor's Office.

The Parliamentary Group of the ethnic Turks Movement for Rights and Freedoms (DPS) lacked a quorum and did not work out its position. After the meeting the DPS spokesman said in an unofficial statement that Tatarchev's request was a provocation against the new cabinet and the new majority in parliament.

The leaderships of the parliamentary groups of the BSP and the DPS will formulate their views tomorrow.

Parliament Debates Lilov Immunity Issue

AU1901100593

[Editorial Report] Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian from 0755 to 0810 GMT on 19 January carries a live relay from the National Assembly in Sofia of a plenary debate. The debate is on the issue of lifting parliamentary immunity from Aleksandur Lilov, National Assembly deputy of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] and formerly chairman of that party, the renamed Bulgarian Communist Party. The request that Lilov be stripped of his immunity has been made by Prosecutor General Ivan Tatarchev, who intends to indict Lilov in the trial against former Communist Party Politburo members and Central Committee secretaries accused of having illegally spent state funds for financial aid to totalitarian regimes in Third World countries and to communist parties in Western countries. A vote on whether or not to strip Lilov of his immunity is expected at the conclusion of the debate.

As the relay is monitored Aleksandur Lilov is already speaking, defending himself against accusations of having wasted state funds for aid to communist parties and terrorist regimes in the Third World. He claims he has not earned "a single penny" from such funds. Most of his speech is directed against Chief Prosecutor Tatarchev, whom he accuses of being guided by "political motivations." Lilov declares that his party, the BSP, which, he says, no longer has anything in common with the former Communist Party, will be even more closely united after such attempts at political persecution and he reminds the deputies that new Prime Minister Professor Berov expressly stated in his government statement that "there will be no political show trials." Lilov urges all parliamentary factions to "draw a line under the past" and work for the future of the country. He says he will not take part in the vote about stripping him of his parliamentary immunity and that he is convinced of his own innocence.

Article Condemns Move To Strip Lilov of Immunity

AU1801103093 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 13 Jan 93 p 8

[Untitled editorial page article]

[Text] Tatarchev raises his hand again against the National Assembly. This time his attack is directed against a deputy of the Parliamentary Union for Social Democracy and represents an attempt to increase tension. The total political failure of the dark blue [radical members of the Union of Democratic Forces] must be masked by cruder violence in order to keep up the spirit of the "loyal voters." Thus the iron prosecutor becomes the last fortress of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] in the present complex situation and its only hope. He and no one else could reshuffle the cards and bring the political game to a state of total disintegration. Placing National Assembly member Aleksandur Lilov under house arrest is more than a deliberate provocation. Through it the blue official wants to draw the parliament and society into a scandalous new situation of irreconcilable passions and delicate political plans, aimed at discrediting the new cabinet at its initial stage.

Tatarchev's move is suspicious from the legal point of view and absurd as a political initiative, but it has its logic. It aims to surprise both the National Assembly and the political parties. This move represents a crude provocation aimed at diverting public attention from the main issues and provoking futile disputes and protest initiatives. Through this move the Chief Prosecutor's Office—an agency that maintains that it is a nonpolitical entity—renders a direct service to the dark blue policy, whose only chance at present is to fully destroy the people's confidence in social peace and certain institutions. If this happens, the frantic desire of the extreme rightist forces to provoke new elections will obtain new momentum. This would mean a further exacerbation of passions among the political forces and incite a struggle among them that would lead to total destabilization of our national life.

Under those circumstances, the behavior of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] and its parliamentary faction acquires a new and fateful importance for our public life. Again, as many times in the past, this behavior must tame the aggression of the reactionary forces and give prudence another chance. In this particular case it is called upon to sound the alarm and unite all parliamentary and extraparliamentary forces which support the policy of civic peace and national consensus. Undoubtedly this is a difficult task, but there is no more important one at present. Nerves must be calmed, however, at the expense of reconciliation and public prudence. Tatarchev's provocation must be stripped of all meaning at the outset, not only because of its cynical and brutal character, but also because of the dangerous political conflict inherent in it. The resistance of the socialist forces to this provocation must become the resistance of all who seek a real solution to the crisis. Otherwise the positive tone which recently emerged will become the victim of cruel interests and untamed hatred.

The moment is coming when the parliament will have to prove its maturity. It would be dangerous if Tatarchev's hand reaches a new victim. This will not only be a blow against parliamentary immunity, but also a plot against parliamentary democracy. Therefore, if the parliament wants to survive and be useful to the nation, it must tame the political cannibalism with a prudent vote.

Former Interior Minister Denies Consulate Bugging

AU1801151593 Prague CTK in English 1747 GMT 14 Jan 93

[Text] Prague Jan 14 (CTK)—Former Czechoslovak Interior Minister Petr Cermak told CTK today that he excluded the possibility that listening devices discovered last month at the United States Consulate in Bratislava could have been operated by federal or even Czech bodies.

He said the investigative commission set up under the former Czechoslovak Interior Ministry had not reached any final conclusions in the matter, however, and said there were conflicts in the American and Czechoslovak versions regarding the devices' discovery.

While the Americans said the devices were still active at the time of their discovery, the Czechoslovak side neither confirmed nor denied this information.

After Czechoslovakia's split on January 1, the matter fell under the authority of a purely Slovak commission.

Cermak said the federal commission, in the brief time allotted to it had done what it could, with what he called a lack of definitive evidence. He said any formal conclusions on the part of the now defunct federal commission would have been resented as an infraction of Slovak sovereignty, on the part of the Slovaks who have taken up the investigation.

The Czech Republic is not interested in complicating relations with Slovakia or the United States over this issue, Cermak added.

Klaus Says Economic Reforms Vital for Region

LD1801211093 Prague CTK in English 2044 GMT 18 Jan 93

[Text] Frankfurt am Main Jan 18 (CTK)—Czech Premier Vaclav Klaus today said that the success or failure of (economic reforms in the Czech Republic and all post-communist states) will be decisive in either making Central and Eastern Europe a permanent source of instability and conflict or successfully overcoming the heritage of communism.

Understanding of these facts from our Western partners could be of essential importance for our success, Klaus said in an extensive speech at the official inauguration of this year's season at the Securities Exchange in Frankfurt am Main, Germany.

He stressed that gifts, financial assistance and good advice alone cannot solve the existing problems in Central and Eastern Europe. A stable Europe can be built only if markets in industrialised countries are opened to goods from this part of the continent and if conditions are created for mutually advantageous trade between East and West.

Klaus rejected views that the division of Czechoslovakia is a step backwards and at variance with the trend towards integration of Europe, saying the idyllic vision of Europe represented by the Maastricht documents had been seriously violated recently.

Time will show what will survive of these visions, but it is clear already that various Europeans will not seek their identity without borders, but on the contrary with their help. These are borders or clear delimitations which provide a necessary identity. It is not just us, who have lived under the false socialist internationalism for long years, but increasingly also the population of Western Europe who are well aware of this, said Klaus.

He said the Czech and Slovak Republics were in essence two natural and internally compact units, and the division of Czechoslovakia would facilitate their integration into Europe.

Klaus stressed the importance of cooperation with the states and nations of Central Europe. While previously our attention was mainly on Washington, London, Paris and Moscow, now we must step up our effort in developing relations with Bratislava, Bonn, Budapest, Vienna, Warsaw and Lubjljana. The Europeans are facing a huge task: To heal the unnatural rift between the East and West of our continent.

He said Central European cooperation has been assuming special importance. Coexistence means to have common problems and to solve them by joint effort. Klaus believes that an important role in coexistence can be played by the reunited, democratic Germany.

Foreign Minister Stresses Western Orientation

AU1501195693 Prague CTK in English 1436 GMT 13 Jan 93

[Text] Prague Jan 13 (CTK)—In an interview with the Czech investigative weekly RESPECT Czech Foreign Minister Josef Zieleniec rejects the views of the Czech Republic's partners in the Visegrad grouping that if the West rejects us we shall close up ranks and proceed on our own.

However, Zieleniec stresses: To me there is no alternative but the West, and recalls a statement by Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar who said recently that cooperation with the East, (Ukraine), could be a viable alternative if Slovakia is not accepted by the West.

The Visegrad group (which also consists of Hungary, Poland, and Slovakia) is indeed important to the Czech Republic as the means of regional cooperation. It opens a bigger market to us with more extensive opportunities, the minister says.

Zieleniec also explains Czech reservations towards the Maastricht agreements. The Czech Republic should not be in a pleading role or someone who is standing behind the door waiting for an invitation but has to be allowed on inside to participate in the decision-making process. We are Europeans which means that our experiences and observations are as valid as those of the French, the British, or the Danes, he stresses.

Addressing the Sudeten German question, Zieleniec says that Czechs are able to open up their history only to the year of communist takeover, 1948. Going further back would open our entire history. No one can ask us to go back, no nation could survive this, the minister says.

The German expellee problem would become irrelevant in the integrated Europe anyhow, there would be no restrictions on the place of residence, property acquisition, obtaining work and so on. This is the proper way for us and also for Germany to deal with the problem, Zieleniec says.

Integrated Europe is of the foremost interest for the Czech foreign policy. If the integration cannot be accomplished, Zieleniec says, it would result in our returning to the bilateral politics in order to ensure the republic's security, Zieleniec adds. It is an extremely complicated endeavor, which as the recent situation of Czechoslovakia suggests has been shown historically to be very ineffective in times of more serious crises.

Perhaps the most immediate though not major foreign policy problem the Czech Republic faces today are the strained relations between Hungary and Slovakia. The tensions between the two neighbors are caused by the Danube water project at Gabcikovo-Nagymaros, which Hungary has not completed while Slovakia has continued apace, and the Hungarian minority's rights in Slovakia.

Slovakia is important for cooperation among the Visegrad group since it links Poland and the Czech Republic to Hungary.... The fate of Visegrad cooperation lies on the Danube and depends on the solution of the Slovak-Hungarian problem. That problem is largely unacceptable to Europe, especially for Poland whose southward political options may be disrupted.... Let's hope relations between Slovakia and Hungary are maintained on acceptable levels, the minister stresses.

It is true that the Czechoslovak foreign services was inundated by secret police officials and very loyal members of the communist party establishment. Zieleniec answers the weekly's question if any State Security (StB) personnel or their agents are employees of the Czech foreign service today.

When I took over the (federal) ministry from Mr. (Jozef) Moravcik, I crossed out names of some employees, actually quite a few, from the transfer rolls, says Zieleniec. The minister calls it only the first selection since the Czech ministry was formed in a single day, January 1, by taking over the federal institution.

Zieleniec rejects any purges at his ministry but knows that real changes in the personnel policy at the ministry would be only accomplished by constantly hiring bright, young and well-trained people.

Klaus, Meciar Deny Discussing Currency Division

AU1801154993 Prague CTK in English 1233 GMT 15 Jan 93

[Text] Prague Jan 15 (CTK)—In their phone call on Wednesday [13 January], the Czech and Slovak prime ministers, Vaclav Klaus and Vladimir Meciar, did not discuss the division of the joint Czechoslovak currency, Klara Pospisilova from the Czech Government office told CTK today. The subject of their discussion was the division of the former federal property (between the Czech and Slovak Republics) and signing of a relevant agreement, but not the currency division, Pospisilova said.

The report spread by some mass media that Klaus and Meciar agreed on the division of the two states' common currency, is not based on facts, Pospisilova stated.

The two prime ministers will meet in the next few days, after the agreement on the division of the federal property is ready for signing. At the meeting, they are likely to discuss several questions, including the currency and the operation of the currency committee, set up on the basis of the treaty on currency union signed last October, Pospisilova said.

Klaus Says 'No Need' for Speedy Currency Split

AU1901120893 Prague CTK in English 1808 GMT 16 Jan 93

[Text] Prague Jan 16 (CTK)—Czech Premier Vaclav Klaus today said no reason has appeared so far for a speedy division of the Czechoslovak currency.

He was speaking at a press conference held in the course of a meeting of the Civic Democratic Party (ODS) Executive Council at Libohost, south-east of Prague.

Klaus recalled that no problems occurred at the recent meeting of the Monetary Committee, which could signal inflationary development.

Basic financial discipline has so far not been upset in the least, nor have there been signs of any of the two budgets reaching an untenable deficit, he said.

He described as the only disturbing fact a certain decline in foreign exchange reserves in the central bank, but not in the Czech Republic as a whole. In his opinion foreign exchange from the central bank is being transferred to commercial banks.

According to Klaus, steps by foreign banks will not immediately speed up the establishment of two independent currencies. He said their reaction was that it would be very unpleasant for them if they would be left with unstamped Czechoslovak crowns after all the banknotes are stamped. They could do nothing but to have them scrapped, he said.

The more of this money remains in these banks and more Czech and Slovak citizens take out their money to the whole world, the more optimum the result will be.

Klaus said and added: I declare that as the government of the Czech Republic we very much welcome this and recommend everybody to do this. Less money would then have to be exchanged for new banknotes, he explained.

Referring to his visit to Germany on January 18, Klaus called the opportunity to address the annual opening of the stock-exchange in Frankfurt-am-Main a significant opportunity for the Czech Republic.

He said the address is generally considered to be of key importance, and added that last year's speaker was German Chancellor Helmut Kohl.

Klaus Analyzes Economic Prospects for 1993

AU1801170393 Prague CESKY DENIK in Czech 15 Jan 93 pp 1, 13

[Article by Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus: "What Will the Year 1993 Be Like in the Economic Field?"]

[Text] If we wanted to give a name to each and every year in our post-November history, we would probably call 1990 the year of completion of political liberalization, 1991 the year of the beginning of economic liberalization, and 1992 the year of a principal turnabout in privatization. The year 1993, which will also be the first year of the independent Czech Republic, will be a year of stabilization and completion of the economic transformation. Independence—which opens new opportunities for us to utilize our great human and material potential to complete our reformist processes—obliges us to assume new tasks, particularly the task of maintaining good economic and political relations with our closest and largest partner, the Slovak Republic. We must not allow various petty disputes to grow to a dimension that would destroy our trade contacts, and we must not forget that we are partners who are still mutually too interdependent to take the liberty, so to speak, to slam the door ostentatiously whenever there is a smallest dispute or misunderstanding.

It is quite certain that during this year there will be a monetary separation, but I am going to do my best to render all our national currencies fully convertible and to maintain smooth banking contacts that will not disturb our trade. We will try to avoid the situation that ocurred in 1991, when we suffered a large economic shock due to the loss of eastern markets, markets that were so important to us.

It has become obvious in the first days of January that 1993 will be a year of introducing, fine tuning, and getting used to economic reform. We are introducing a tax system that is an analogy to tax systems in EC countries and that pushes us another inch toward the standard market system. At the same time, social and health insurance premiums will be collected separately from the taxes, and the links between insurance payments and the financing of health and social care will become a great deal more visible. In the past, these links were completely obscured in a muddled state budget. For the payer and the collector of insurance premiums and taxes the introduction of the new tax system means a lot of complexities. The transition from the turnover tax to the value-added tax means that the number of payers will multiply several times. The first days of January clearly showed this. An excessive and economically unjustified movement of prices, unnecessarily disturbing social peace, was caused by three main factors:

—Not all the entrepreneurs have thoroughly studied the manuals regarding the value-added tax and erroneously (knowingly or not) included the tax in prices.

—Not all the entrepreneurs understood (we must admit that it had not been stressed enough) that the new tax did not have to be added to the value of goods in stock (where the old turnover tax had been added), but that this old tax would be returned to them (this is the amount by which the prices should have dropped).

—Some entrepreneurs used the uncertain situation surrounding the change in the tax system to increase prices, hoping that this would "go unnoticed" and that the populist opposition would blame the government for it, anyway.

The sum of these three factors "successfully" swayed public opinion, and it will take some time before we succeed in calming this situation down.

In 1993, a second (and certainly the last) wave of coupon privatization will take place, which will complete the privatization process and make it irreversible, and at the same time, it will remove a burden from the shoulders of the state, a burden that the state is not able to carry further.

The transfer of the state property to shareholders is the first and basic prerequisite for an efficient functioning of enterprises. The recently approved law on securities will make it possible for the new private owners—shareholders—to "take care" of their own property and make changes in the management personnel and influence their decisions. The security market will put a spontaneous process of ownership concentration [spontanni process koncentrace vlastnictvi] into motion and will thereby introduce an effective control over privatized enterprises.

There is another thing these enterprises will have to face this year, a thing that will significantly change their nonmarket behavior and strengthen their financial discipline—the law on bankruptcy and settlement, a law that has been postponed several times. A number of enterprises will certainly go bankrupt, but their bankruptcy will have a purifying effect on the economy and will free the tied human and material potential for better and more productive purposes. The disappearance of bad manufacturers always has a positive impact on the prospects of good manufacturers. I do not think, however, that the beginning of bankruptcies will be a shock to our economy as a whole. However, it will be a hard test, a test that we must introduce when there is the right time for it.

We will also progress in our passage to Europe and the world. First, we will proceed with the liberalization of our trade with the world, and one of the ways we will do that is by the revocation of the general 10-percent import duty we have imposed (originally 20 percent) together with the introduction of the internal convertibility of the koruna. Thereby, we will increase the competition pressure of foreign goods on our market and contribute to changing the monopolistic atmosphere that still survives on the domestic markets. This increased competition pressure will not be the only change, because at the same time wages and cost of wages have grown, which—as the currency exchange has remained constant—means a relative loss of our advantageous position in exports created after the devaluation in December 1990. This devaluation effectively protected our exporters (and manufacturers) for more than two years (and made any additional protection of exports unnecessary), but with the inflation here higher than elsewhere in the world, this advantage cannot last forever.

Furthermore, we signed a free trade treaty with Poland and Hungary, and this represents certain albeit circumspect preconditions for intensifying mutual trade with these two countries. Unfortunately, we have not managed anything similar with the other postcommunist countries. In this situation, we must above all endeavor to expand our contacts with the developed Western countries and with the EC countries because our goods must penetrate particularly these markets.

The government—in addition to systemic and macroeconomic measures—will have to make difficult decisions regarding specific cases, like the large enterprises (Skoda Plzen, Skoda Prague, Aero, etc.), the conceptual activities that will affect us for a long time (such as nuclear power, railroad transport, etc.), and the areas on the boundary between economy and the social world (housing) etc. We will not be spared the easy populist criticism on any of these decisions, but they must be made.

The coming year certainly will not lack major changes. Although we cannot expect a fundamental turn toward the general growth of living standard, we are definitely not going to lose our pace on our chosen way to the market economy and prosperity, on our way to the free and law-abiding civic society.

Coalition Parties Support Havel for President

LD1701193893 Prague CTK in English 1908 GMT 17 Jan 93

[Text] Prague Jan 17 (CTK)—All Czech government coalition parties have expressed support for the candidacy of former Czechoslovak president Vaclav Havel for the post of Czech president.

The Executive Committee of the Civic Democratic Party (ODS) stopped insisting that the presidential election should be preceded by the filling of the Czech parliament's second chamber, the Senate. ODS chairman Vaclav Klaus said at a two-day meeting of the ODS council at Libohost near Prague on January 15-16 that for the party Havel continues to be the only candidate for the presidency.

The Civic Democratic Alliance (ODA) wants the coalition to nominate Havel as soon as possible. The ODA group in the Chamber of Deputies is ready to submit a proposal for Havel's candidacy on Monday [18 January].

ODS Chairman Jan Kalvoda said at an ODA national conference held this weekend that Havel remains the most suitable candidate for president despite certain reservations and concern about his future activities. Kalvoda called the ODS decision to no longer link the presidential election to the filling of the Senate a cooperative move by the coalition's strongest party.

Nevertheless in his opinion the filling of the Senate with former Federal Assembly deputies for a period of less than two years is incompatible with the function which the Senate should fulfil.

Havel is the only presidential candidate for the Christian Democratic Union-Czechoslovak People's Party (KDU-CSL), which believes the coalition ought to submit its proposal as a whole.

The Christian Democratic Party (KDS) also supports Havel as a candidate for the presidency but insists that first of all a provisional Senate should be established.

The opposition Liberal Social Union (LSU), with 16 seats in the 200-member Chamber of Deputies, will most likely not propose its own candidate and will back a candidate whom it will regard as most suitable for the post.

The Left Bloc (LB) group in the Czech parliament will put up its own candidate but his name is not yet known. The Left Bloc holds 35 seats in the Chamber of Deputies.

The Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party (CSSD) made it clear on Sunday, in a statement of deputy chairman of the CSSD group in parliament Petra Buzkova, that Havel is for the party the most convenient person for the post. The CSSD has 16 seats in parliament.

The parliamentary group of the Assembly for the Republic-Czechoslovak Republican Party (SPR-RSC) is ready to nominate party chairman Miroslav Sladek as its candidate. However, Sladek is thinking over his candidacy as the programme of the SPR-RSC (14 seats) seeks a direct presidential election.

KDS Announces Support

LD1701160493 Prague CTK in English 1534 GMT 17 Jan 93

[Text] Prague Jan 17 (CTK)—The Christian Democratic Party (KDS) will support Vaclav Havel's nomination as the government coalition candidate for the post of Czech president, a KDS representative said today.

Pavel Tollner, vice chairman of the KDS and of the Chamber of Deputies said in a televised debate that the KDS executive committee made this decision Saturday night [16 January]. But, he added, the KDS insists on first of all filling the Senate, the second chamber of the Czechoslovak Parliament.

Havel, the former Czechoslovak president, is considered the most convenient candidate for the presidency by the Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party (CSSD).

CSSD deputy to the Chamber of Deputies Petra Buzkova, said during the debate that the party will not put up its own candidate as it has no suitable person for the post.

According to Buzkova, Havel is unlikely to win unqualified support from CSSD deputies in view of what she described as certain mistakes in his past election term. She added that what she personally most objected to was Havel's resignation from the presidency at the time when the future of the Czechoslovak state was not yet decided. (Havel resigned on July 20, 1992.)

Democratic Left Opposes Havel

LD1801140693 Prague CTK in English 1321 GMT 18 Jan 93

[Text] Prague Jan 18 (CTK)—The Czech Democratic Left (DL) Movement does not approve of Vaclav Havel as a candidate for Czech president, DL Chairman Lotar Indruch told journalists today.

Havel's last bad move was that he gave up the struggle for the common state, Indruch said.

In Indruch's opinion Jan Strasky, former Czechoslovak premier, would be a better presidential candidate because he is not changing his views, one knows what one can expect of him. As to Havel, said Indruch, I really do not know what can be expected of him, he added.

Indruch said that the DL considers the Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party (CSDS) a promising partner on the left-wing political scene.

Referring to the DL coalition partner within the left bloc, the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia (KSCM), Indruch said it should display more courage while dealing with its internal problems. He said that many KSCM members at present show interest in membership in the DL.

Candidacy Presented; Havel Accepts

LD1801184693 Prague CTK in English 1819 GMT 18 Jan 93

[Text] Prague Jan 18 (CTK)—The official proposal for Vaclav Havel's candidacy for the Czech Presidency, signed by the Czech Government coalition parties, was today handed to the Secretariat of the Chamber of Deputies of the Czech Parliament.

The proposal, addressed to Chairman of the Chamber of Deputies Milan Uhde, was signed by 40 deputies from the Civic Democratic Party (ODS), the Christian Democratic Union-Czechoslovak People's Party (KDU-CSL), the Christian Democratic Party (KDS) and the Civic Democratic Party (ODA).

Chairman of the KDU-CSL Parliamentary Group Miloslav Vyborny, who submitted the proposal, said: At the moment the number of signatures is sufficient for the candidacy to be valid.

He added that the number is what we succeeded to collect up to now. We expect further signatures to be added in the course of Tuesday.

According to available information, the proposal was signed by all 14 ODA deputies, 13 (out of a total of 66) ODS deputies, 12 (out of 15) KDU-CSL deputies and 1 KDS deputy (out of 10). A candidacy must be proposed by a minimum of ten deputies.

Vyborny said that the date, place and method of presidential election should be decided by the Organisational Committee of the Chamber of Deputies.

Asked whether the election will be held by secret ballot, he said anything was possible because even the constitution does not exactly define the way of voting.

Representatives of the Czech coalition parties reached agreement on the candidacy of former Czechoslovak president Havel in their meeting this morning.

They are optimistic about Havel's chances of being elected.

In reaction to the proposal Havel told CTK: With the submission of the candidacy, I have become an official candidate for the post of the president of the Czech Republic. I am ready to explain to any other political party, if it is interested, how I intend to perform my presidential duties.

Dyba Lists Main Risks Threatening Economy

AU1801150993 Prague CTK in English 1750 GMT 14 Jan 93

[Text] Prague Jan 14 (CTK)—Czech Economy Minister Karel Dyba today described relations with Slovakia and world economic developments as the chief risks that might threaten the economy of the Czech Republic this year.

In a meeting between economy ministers and members of the Economic Committee of the Czech Parliament's Chamber of Deputies, Dyba said the Czech Republic is 70 percent dependent on world, particularly Western markets. Two years ago Czechoslovakia was to the same extent dependent on Eastern markets, he added.

As regards relations towards Slovakia, Dyba said the government will do its best to reduce risks to a minimum. He said production in the Czech Republic has been continually increasing since the first quarter of 1992.

Dyba stressed the need for the government to adopt legislation concerning housing policy. Speedy passage of a bill to encourage bank deposits for housing purposes would help revive housing construction.

Slovakia, Hungary Remain Divided on Gabcikovo

AU1801152993 Prague CTK in English 2117 GMT 14 Jan 93

[Text] Bratislava Jan 14 (CTK)—Stands of the Slovak and Hungarian sides on the future of the controversial Gabcikovo hydroelectric project have not come closer after today's session of the Slovak, Hungarian, and European Community expert commission, Dominik Kocinger, head of the Slovak delegation said.

Kocinger, Slovak Government commissioner for Gabcikovo, said after the talks that a Slovak delegation will not take part in the next round of talks scheduled at Brussels next week if it thinks them of no avail. He said the Czech [as received] and Hungarian stands are diametrically opposite. The Hungarian side insists on returning 95 percent of the Danube's waters diverted by Slovak builders to its original riverbed.

The Gabcikovo project was started by Czechoslovakia and Hungary in 1977. In October 1989 the Hungarians ceased work on the project due to environmental concerns. Under the Slovak Government plan approved in July 1991 Czechoslovakia went ahead with the construction of the Gabcikovo portion of the project which was put into operation late last year.

Hungary mainly protests against the Slovak side having diverted a section of the Danube which formed the common border between two countries.

Meciar Seeks To Balance Market, Social Needs

LD1601123793 Prague Stanice Praha Radio Network in Czech 1130 GMT 16 Jan 93

[Text] Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar denied there was a threat of nationalism in Slovakia. In an interview for the French daily LE FIGARO, he stressed that the groupings defending chauvinistic positions had not even gotten into the parliament. He also ruled out the possibility that communism might return to Slovakia. According to him, his government's goal is to create a balance between the demands of the market and the need for social protection.

Vladimir Meciar described the insufficiently developed industrial infrastructure as Slovakia's most pressing problem in the area of economy. In this connection, he stressed that if Slovakia wanted to put the market economy on a firm basis, it had to turn itself toward the West.

Ministers Comment on Currency Division Process

LD1501211493 Prague CTK in English 1640 GMT 15 Jan 93

[Text] Bratislava Jan. 15 (CTK)—Slovak Finance Minister Julius Toth today contradicted statements by Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar that the main impetus behind the predicted imminent split of the Czechoslovak currency is Slovakia's low hard-currency reserves.

Toth told CTK that Slovakia's reserves were greater than the Czech Republic's, though he added that the state of currencies changes each day.

Slovak Deputy Premier Roman Kovac told CTK today that the Slovak Government had not discussed the possibility of dividing the joint currency by the end of January. The daily "RUDE PRAVO" today quotes Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar as saying he and Czech Premier Vaclav Klaus agreed to the division within the month.

Kovac also said Slovakia was preparing to institute temporary price ceilings on certain basic goods following steep price rises due to a new V.A.T. [valu-added tax] tax. He noted that unemployment in Slovakia had dropped to 10 per cent and said the republic's economy was picking up as a whole.

Bank Official on Mechanics of Money Exchange

AU1501153993 Bratislava HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Slovak 13 Jan 93 p 2

[TA SR report: "After the Deadline With Deductions"]

[Text] According to Marian Tkac, deputy governor of the National Bank of the Slovak Republic, after a set deadline the exchange of money for money marked by impression stamps or adhesive stamps will not be permitted at a 1:1 ratio in the Slovak Republic, but "all those who come after this deadline will be penalized by a certain deduction, unless they have good reasons for it." Tkac said this in an interview on Slovak Radio yesterday. No decision has yet been made on the maximum sum citizens will be able to exchange, Tkac said, adding that he does not consider this to be the key issue of the day. "Should the exchange of currency take place at a later date and should we manage to stamp a sufficient quantity of banknotes by then, it may not be necessary greatly to limit those sums for citizens," he went on to say, stressing that this was only a technical and organizational problem.

According to Marian Tkac, the exchange of money will take place over several days, including most probably also work-free days, and money intended for entrepreneurial activity will not be subject to any limits, should any be imposed. The people standing in front of banks have come to realize, according to Tkac, that it is better to have one's money deposited in savings and current accounts. "Our banks will use this money for credits for businessmen, which will actually revive the economy. In a normal society—normal from the viewpoint of economic relations—all this money would have been deposited on accounts a long time ago," Marian Tkac observed.

Jeszenszky Pledges Adherence to Arms Embargo

AU1901151993 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 15 Jan 93 p 3

[Interview with Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky by Attila Seres in Paris on 14 January: "Hungary Will Not Violate the Arms Embargo"]

[Text] Our correspondent interviewed Geza Jeszenszky after his meeting with French Foreign Minister Roland Dumas in the break of the Paris conference.

[Seres] At their meeting in Paris, the EC foreign ministers decided to try to force Belgrade to influence the Bosnian bodies to sign the Geneva agreement by isolating Serbia internationally and by possibly breaking economic and diplomatic relations. Does Roland Dumas agree with this?

[Jeszenszky] French steps made in recent weeks show that Paris also regards the pressure on Belgrade as a possibility for a diplomatic solution to the conflict. Given the mood of French public opinion, Paris could not do anything different, either.

[Seres] One of the French dailies on 13 January mentioned Hungary among the countries that are violating the arms delivery embargo to Yugoslavia. What is your opinion about this?

[Jeszenszky] The claims of the daily in question, QUOTIDIEN DE PARIS, are based on erroneous information, and I had the opportunity to meet a reporter from this French daily today. I explained to him the Hungarian position regarding the arms embargo and the Yugoslav crisis in general.

[Seres] Have you also discussed Iraq? Do you think that the latest U.S.-British-French military action will divert attention from Yugoslavia?

[Jeszenszky] According to some opinions, this could divert the attention of the world but, according to some other opinions, this action proves the efficiency of the UN or of an international coalition in taking a stand against violations of the law. Of course, many people ask themselves what is the cause of delays in other areas, when the reaction toward Iraq is so quick and efficient. In my opinion, the steps against Iraq will not diminish the possibility of European countries and countries outside Europe to play an active role in settling the Yugoslav crisis. It seems that the feeling that this crisis is intolerable has been growing everywhere in recent weeks. This coincides with the Hungarian opinion.

Antall Meets Japanese Foreign Trade Minister

LD1801171293 Budapest MTI in English 1539 GMT 18 Jan 93

[Text] Budapest, January 18 (MTI)—Hungarian Prime Minister Jozsef Antall on Monday received Japanese Minister of Foreign Trade and Industry Yoshiro Mori. Also present at the meeting were the Japanese Ambassador to Budapest, Tsutsumi Koichi, and Hungarian Minister of International Economic Relations Bela Kadar.

Both sides saw bilateral political and economic relations as successful and ripe for further development. They agreed to work together for a more favourable environment for capital investment.

Yoshiro Mori saw ongoing Hungarian economic transformation and democratisation positively. He stressed the successful operation of the Suzuki factory in Esztergom could be the start of further economic cooperation between the two countries.

Prime Minister Antall stressed the importance of the Hungarian-Japanese aviation agreement to be signed shortly. He hoped that Japan would support Hungarian environmental protection investment with preferential loans.

The Hungarian prime minister said Hungary does not carry out a discriminative foreign trade policy. Hungary's aim is to attain full membership of the European Community, but it also wants to intensify economic relations with Japan.

He noted the importance of Japan's presence in Central-Eastern Europe, a region striving for stability. Antall voiced the hope that Japan would consider Hungary its investment and trade base in the Central-Eastern European region.

Invites Emperor To Visit

OW1801143893 Tokyo KYODO in English 1351 GMT 18 Jan 93

[Text] Budapest, Jan. 18 KYODO—Hungary officially Monday invited Japan's Emperor Akihito, Empress Michiko, Crown Prince Naruhito, and Prime Minister Kiichi Miyazawa to the East European nation, Japanese officials said.

The invitation was made by Hungarian Prime Minister Jozsef Antall during talks with visiting Japanese International Trade and Industry Minister Yoshiro Mori, officials accompanying Mori said.

If the invitation is accepted, it will be the emperor's first visit to Eastern Europe.

Antall expressed his strong wish for direct investment in Hungary from Japan, the officials said, quoting him as saying that he wants Japanese companies to consider Hungary as the center for making inroads into East European nations.

Cooperation With Japan To Increase

LD1801191293 Budapest MTI in English 1821 GMT 18 Jan 93

[Text] Budapest, January 18 (MTI)—Hungary's economic environment and human relations enable the further influx and operation of Japanese capital in the long term, said Hungarian Industry and Trade Minister Ivan Szabo after talks with Japanese International Trade and Industry Minister Yoshiro Mori on Monday.

The sides worked out a bilateral project for industrial cooperation, under which production efficiency study centres are to be set up in Hungary.

Japan is ready to guarantee USD [U.S. dollar] 400 million of credit for trade in September, Szabo said.

Also, Hungary will be able to deliver medicines under a further USD 100-million aid project prepared by Japan for the Commonwealth of Independent States.

Csurka Presents 'Alternative' MDF Program

93CH0279C Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 31 Dec 92 p 3

[Unattributed report on article in the 31 December 1992 MAGYAR FORUM by Istvan Csurka, member of the Hungarian Democratic Forum's presidium: "Istvan Csurka on Democracy That Puts Things in Order"]

[Text] The 31 December issue of MAGYAR FORUM published a new essay by Istvan Csurka—this time taking up two columns—entitled "Embittered Back Country." The essay is especially significant in view of the impending national convention of the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF], because the writer-politician sketches the basic elements of an alternative program to the official politics of the Antall government and the MDF. Incidentally, starting in January, MAGYAR FORUM is launching a monthly periodical.

The starting point of the essay: In Hungary the real change of regime did not occur; social revolution did not take place, and there was no change of regime in the world either, "only the two components of the old egg have been stirred into one single yellow mass." Western consumer society is not interested in quick changes in our region, because that would endanger the system of banks which is ruling the world and keeps consumer society in balance. For this reason, the West is supporting primarily those who are free of anticommunist passions and are satisfied with the change. Istvan Csurka labeled these quartermasters. According to the author of the essay, the present Hungarian Government and the coalition majority of the National Assembly is carrying out a change of regime "in the spirit of quartermasters," and the primary beneficiary of this change is precisely the elite who already enjoyed largely privileged positions in the previous regime. On the other hand, the majority of the Hungarian people, the Embittered Back Country, which was suppressed and sentenced to silence in the previous regime as well, cannot enjoy the advantages of the change. At the same time, the majority of the voters for the coalition parties in 1990 came from this dissatisfied group of "back country Hungarians," and this group did not receive an explanation why the ardently desired change did not take place. "The repulsive feature of a change in the spirit of quartermasters is that the elite is being replaced by foreigners and Hungarians thinking in the way of foreigners, and from the Back Country all it demands is patience. So far, the Back Country has granted this patience. Now, however, it is at a point where it is to break down," Csurka writes. Thus, instead of providing quarters, one needs to provide order, all the more, because all signs indicate that consumer society will sooner or later be replaced by a newer formation, and consequently it makes little sense to join in now. In Csurka's opinion, the greatest omission of the MDF and the government is that they did not prepare a program for the Embittered Back Country. In the following, the author sketches the major elements of this program.

Point 1: One must create a world in which the bank is not the supreme commander; for this, it is necessary to achieve that politics be determined by something else than the view of economists. Order-creating democracy, declares Csurka, must create a stronger, tougher society and an inwardly solid state; education must be reformed fundamentally, because without it one cannot establish honest, human requirements. It is also necessary to ensure that foreigners could not acquire large portions of Hungarian land, and that the Hungarian system of banks cannot be sold out over and above a certain percentage. According to Csurka, new legislation is necessary on borders and immigration, because just like the rest of Europe, we also cannot take in "refugees and the ethnically injured from faraway fields."

Walesa Speaks on Foreign Policy Goals

WS1501133893 Warsaw SERWIS INFORMACYJNY in Polish 0222 GMT 14 Jan 93

["Speech by Polish President Lech Walesa on the Occasion of the New Year Reunion at the Royal Castle, Warsaw, on 14 January 1993"—SERWIS INFORMACYJNY headline]

[Text] Your Excellency Father Archbishop Nuncio, Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I have the honor of meeting you at the beginning of the New Year. Such occasion makes one reflect on the past year and think about what the New Year will be like for the world, for Europe, and for Poland. Already today we can see that it will be a time of difficult challenges for the international community. For some time now the international community has been responding to manifestations of aggression, violence, and violations of the law. Many threats, however, have not been removed. The tragedy of Yugoslavia is continuing. In many parts of the world conflicts are being resolved not at the negotiating table, but on the battlefield. Nationalism and chauvinism are on the increase.

The past year was a time of new phenomena and processes for the world. The former, bipolar division of the world is a thing of the past. The dividing lines are running elsewhere now, thus creating new and hitherto unknown problems and menaces. We all need a new philosophy of international relations, and new rules of mutual coexistence in order to overcome them. I am including the superiority of morals and law over politics, of solidarity over egoism, and of partnership over dominance.

The past year makes us realize the complexity of the process of achieving the unity of Europe. Not only does it call for time and understanding from societies; it also requires cooperation, good will, and commitment from governments. Without it the prosperity of Europe cannot be achieved. I mean the whole of Europe, not divided into the rich and the poor, into the elites and the masses, into safe areas and danger zones. Foreign policy is always a function of an internal situation of any state. In parallel to this, it should also follow from the community of just aspirations of states.

On the other hand, political dialogue must serve not only the purpose of building our mutual understanding, security, and of enhancing respect for international law. Likewise, it must contribute to the growth of national wealth of all the participants in the dialogue. Extreme economic inequalities may create a chasm that no one will be able to bridge; a chasm that may threaten the political stability of Europe and the world.

The past year was a time of great experiences and important successes for Poland. We concluded a certain stage in the pursuit of foreign policy objectives—that of a sovereign and democratic Third Republic.

We are linked with our neighbors by friendship and partnership. They serve the cause of mutual security and beneficial cooperation. The treaties we have signed have provided a framework that is being filled with content.

During the past year, Poland's democratic institutions began to prove themselves in practice. The economic reforms resulted in some economic recovery and growth. This year may be one of a breakthrough for us. Despite difficulties, Poland is maintaining its stability. This allows us to look with hope toward the future.

Ladies and gentlemen, Poland wants cooperation based on partnership with all countries; with her immediate neighbors and with states on the distant continents alike. We are striving for participation in the Western political, economic, and defense structures. Poland is particularly interested becoming a member of the European Community and of NATO. We recognize the importance of integration processes on this continent. We acknowledge the role of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe in the building of confidence, understanding, and security. It is of great importance and it has many tasks to fulfill. However, it should search for new forms of organization and practical activity.

Germany and France are for us a natural link with the European Community and with the defense structures of the West. We need each other.

Joint interests bring us together with Germany as our neighbor. A new alignment including France, Germany, and Poland is beginning to appear on the political map of Europe. This certainly demonstrates the sense of responsibility of these states for the destiny of our continent.

An equally important direction in Polish foreign policy is the eastern direction. Relations with Russia, Belarus, and Ukraine have acquired a new quality. Their pillars are those of sovereignty, democracy, truth, and partnership. We are brought together by the similarity of experiences, problems, and interests. I hope that Lithuania will soon join the neighboring countries with which we have signed treaties and agreements. I am convinced that Poland may become a bridge between the East and the West for those countries.

For the past few days we have had two neighbors in the south: the Czech state and the Slovak state. We have been linked with each of them by similar experiences and quite often by joint history. The friendship that has come into being causes us to believe that the promising cooperation within the Visegrad group will be continued.

Our determination to cooperate with our neighbors in a harmonious way was demonstrated by my visits to the Federal Republic of Germany and to the Russian Federation. The heads of governments of Ukraine, Belarus, and Latvia were received in Poland.

It is with satisfaction that I am emphasizing good relations with other European countries: Italy, Great Britain, Spain, the Benelux countries, and the Scandinavian states. I believe that it will be possible to take better advantage of the possibilities for cooperation in an integrating Europe.

President George Bush's visit last year reaffirmed our friendship with the United States. I hope that there will be a further revival of the favorable relations between our two countries during the presidency of Bill Clinton.

Poland, as a centuries-long Catholic country, highly appreciates its relations with the Holy See. This, and also the fact that the capital of Saint Peter is occupied by a Pole, John Paul II, may be helpful in efforts to work out some model solutions. They should culminate in the concordat to be signed between the Third Republic and the Holy See.

Regional cooperation in the contemporary world is being given ever more recognition. The experience of the Visegrad group is indeed essential. It is necessary to act with greater intensity in the Council of Baltic Sea States and within the arrangement called the Central European Initiative. Because of its location, Poland may play an important part in regional cooperation linking the East with the West, and the North with the South.

As we rediscover our relations with Europe, we are entering political and economic relationships worldwide. We want to expand cooperation with Japan, the Republic of South Korea, and the other countries of Asia. We appreciate the importance of contacts with such states as India and China which mean so much in the world. Those countries are important economic and cultural partners for Poland.

We are expanding our contacts with the states of Central America and South America which, like Central and Eastern Europe, are experiencing political and economic changes.

I am glad to note the establishment of diplomatic relations with the Republic of South Africa. This is the effect of the necessary changes in that part of the African continent. We attach great importance to contacts with all states of Africa.

We have good relations with the Arab world, which is an important partner for us. We desire to strengthen and develop these relations. That was the purpose of my visit to Egypt, and my meetings at the Arab League.

The first visit of the president of Israel to Poland was a significant event. The relations between our countries and nations have acquired a new dimension.

Ladies and gentlemen, Poland hopes for a just and an equitable solution to the conflicts tearing the world. We want solidarity rather that force and violence to prevail in international relations. Respect for international law, respect for the dignity of man, and the right of the people to choose their own way of development should become an inviolable principle.

Ladies and gentlemen, on the occasion of the New Year, I would like to wish my Fatherland every success in the task of reforms. For the uniting Europe, I wish solidarity. I wish peace and a just resolution of conflicts for the rest of the world.

To all people, I convey my wishes for safe, prosperous, and dignified life. And you, Your Excellencies, a fruitful service, every success in your mission, happiness, and the best of luck.

All the best to you in the New Year of 1993. (At the end of his speech President of the Republic of Poland Lech Walesa, added):

As you know, a great tragedy has happened in Poland. People were lost at sea. I would like for all of us, in international solidarity, to recommend them to the Almighty God and to honor their memory with a moment of silence.

Suchocka Assesses Outcome of Ukraine Visit

AU1801132093 Warsaw PAP in English 1955 GMT 13 Jan 93

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 13—Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka on Wednesday [13 January] ended her two-day working visit to Ukraine aimed at an intensification of bilateral economic relations.

The visit confirmed the two sides' will to promote cooperation and resulted in the signing of a series of accords envisaging the normalization of economic relations.

In the course of her stay in Ukraine, Ms Suchocka repeatedly stressed that Central and Eastern European countries are linked not only by their common history but also by a common aim to reconstruct their economies ruined by decades of real socialism.

Referring to the economic situation in this part of Europe, Suchocka said that the "success of reforms in one country can be conducive to favorable trends in others. Successful economic cooperation between Central and Eastern European countries and the overcoming of recession depend on the political will of cooperation and a smooth implementation of reforms in all countries of the region." She declared that there is such a will of cooperation both in Poland and in Ukraine.

The programme of the visit also included a meeting with representatives of the Roman Catholic church in Ukraine during which the prime minister presented Bishop Jan Olszanski with the Knight's Cross of the Order of the Rebirth of Poland.

During a meeting with ethnic Poles living in Ukraine, Suchocka asked them to remember that "all rulers treat national minorities with understanding if they themselves are aware of their significance, and also if (they) are loyal citizens of the states where they happen to live."

On her arrival at the Warsaw airport on Wednesday afternoon, Suchocka told newsmen that the Polish side supported the "determined and bold" economic policy of the Ukrainian cabinet, and summed up the visit as important, mainly for bilateral economic relations as it helped to end the to-date stagnation.

When asked whether her talks pertained to any military issues, Suchocka said that these questions are to be discussed in two weeks during a visit to Ukraine by Defence Minister Janusz Onyszkiewicz.

Minister for Foreign Economic Relations Andrzej Arendarski who accompanied the prime minister on her visit to Ukraine described the visit as a "landmark" not because "important agreements have been signed but mainly because it helped to create mechanisms of communication and overcoming barriers."

Walesa Views Silesia's Problems

AU1501151693 Poznan WPROST in Polish 3 Jan 93 pp 30, 31

["Abridged" transcript of interview with President Lech Walesa by Ewelina Puczek for Katowice Television; place and date not given: "The Silesian Conundrum"]

[Text] [Puczek] When Kuznia Raciborska went up in flames, you were there sooner than the Katowice voivode. You attended the victims' funeral. You allocated 400 million zlotys for the families of the miners who died in the coal mine. In general, however, it is believed that Silesia is completely alone in solving its problems.

[Walesa] Looking at it simply, that really is the case. Silesia rebuilt the country after the war. Then, the "climate" was favorable to coal. Now the country should in a way reverse the situation, it should help the basin, but the country is poor and in the midst of reforms. We do not have a concept, we feel uncomfortable, ill at ease. We feel a debt of gratitude, and we do not know what to do about it. People will say: The revolution has failed the test. That is not true. We have freedom. We have pluralism, but at the same time the entire economic and political setup has fallen apart. The Soviet Union and the communist countries were enmeshed in cooperation. Now, all that has been ruptured, and we are not coping with it. Freedom, democracy, and the principles that we are proposing for the economy will solve that problem, but the cost is great. People had become accustomed to a different philosophy over the past 50 years. Now they are helpless; they do not have the resources. All this gives rise to dissatisfaction. But, for the effects of our revolution to be greater, we have to find—especially for Silesia—solutions to the problems and to approach them with greater commitment. Solutions certainly exist.

[Puczek] Twenty percent of state budget resources is money generated in Silesia. Meanwhile, houses, streets, entire towns are falling apart, and the region does not have the money to stage a rescue. We receive too little in return.

[Walesa] Let us remember that the economy was being run in a criminal fashion here. We sold coal without regard for the price. We got out as much as was possible. It was a case of plundering our assets. Of course we were competitive: The whole world was buying Polish coal. Today, we are selling it at prices close to those in the West. Today, we not giving anything away. Our trade and our logic has fallen into line with world logic. The free market, towards which our economy is striving, is based on commercial principles. That cannot be disregarded. It is not our fault that we are facing such great problems. We have to talk to one another—society and those in power have to talk to one another in particular. We have to find a joint solution—Silesia will not manage alone.

[Puczek] Eight coal mines and four steel works are to be closed shortly. What about jobs for those who will be laid off?

[Walesa] I have pointed that out to the government, but to get back to my idea: We forget that these coal mines were meant to serve the people and today they only serve commercial considerations. Although that is logical—that is the way it should be—we have to reverse our concepts. People should come first. We should not allow the coal mines to be closed first, and only then decide what to do about the people. We must find a solution to the question of what should be done about these people. A "second Balcerowicz" was needed from the start of our concept. It would have been a group of 400 or 500 specialists who would have followed the "first Balcerowicz," who was rightly closing down unprofitable plants, including coal mines. He would then have been followed by the "second Balcerowicz" with a logical concept and money. This is something that the government has to be reminded of again and something that it has to do! People must have work, but it has to be work that is economically logical and yields benefits. Otherwise, we will bring about an absurd situation in which everything will be subordinated solely to the economy, and we will completely lose sight of people, including the miners!

[Puczek] Our local television news program reported that the concentration of carbon monoxide in the air in Katowice exceeds the prescribed level by 280 percent. If that kind of report were issued in, for example, Oslo, people would put on gas masks and sirens would start wailing. In Silesia, one has to live and work with it.

[Walesa] We have found ourselves in a situation without a way out. Now it is up to us, being in the position that we are in, to find a solution. We have a free country and we can do everything. The problem is that those in power in society are not looking for solutions. Both are standing still. A strike is called or people shout "down with" whoever. That misses the point. We have to meet and find a solution. Let us proceed from the assumption that the governors and the governed must find a solution. Let us look for solutions as quickly as possible, because otherwise we will wipe ourselves out.

[Puczek] A dichotomy has emerged in Silesia. There are those who, for example, want regional autonomy, with their own treasury, parliament, and a voivode that they themselves elect. How do you view that?

[Walesa] No one can count on detaching Silesia or any similar kind of fracas. Only war can settle that. So, let us be serious: There will not be any concessions in this respect! It is nevertheless a fact that the world is about regional solutions. We are destined to have greater regional security, including the wearing down of borders, but not in terms of new maps and new conquests, but only in terms of logical economic cooperation. Ideas about autonomy gain currency when a region is not coping, when people there begin to think that if they were closer to the Germans, or closer to someone else, then things would be easier. People reason simply. That is our fault once again. It is Poland's fault that it is not dealing with a region that the country owes so much to. The paradox is that we have the money. I am even prepared to bring over just as much again from the West. The only thing is that it should not be spent on eating and drinking. New economic solutions have to be introduced. The money that we have is not being used. A lot of money might find its way into Silesia, but not so that we can cause damage, but so that we can rescue the region. Today, creating new jobs is a priority.

[Puczek] Aranberg, the last coal pit in the French Pas de Calais, was closed in 1989. I spoke to miners of Polish descent, who told me that what had until recently been a crisis for them had now become a new reality that was not difficult to accept. They could learn a new occupation over a period of two years. The inhabitants of Silesia want a clear, coherent concept for the restructuring of heavy industry in the region.

[Walesa] France had a problem with one region, whereas we have a problem with the entire country. I cannot imagine any country being able to deal with the problem that we are facing, that over 70 percent of our foreign cooperation has ceased to exist. The fact that we are alive, that we are not fighting each other, is really thanks to divine providence. This great problem struck us virtually overnight. If that had happened in any other system, it would have led to civil war. However, the great victory of freedom, democracy, and pluralism saved us from a massacre. The only thing is that people do not understand that. Victory came to us easily, and no one even noticed how it came. Something great has happened, and it must and it will yield results.

Martial Law Leaders Accuse Probers of Bias

AU1501123993 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 13 Jan 93 p 2

['WZ' report: "Breaking the Silence"]

[Text] On Tuesday [12 January], the members of the State Council who declared martial law in Poland on the night of 12 and 13 December 1981 broke their silence. Appearing before the Sejm Committee for Constitutional Accountability, they said they would answer questions when the committee withdraws its accusations against them of reaping material and personal gain from their power.

In an earlier letter sent to Edward Rzepka, chairman of the committee, General Wojciech Jaruzelski said: "The Committee for Constitutional Accountability is not in a position to make an objective assessment of the authors of martial law. Public statements by its members suggest that the committee has already passed its own verdict on the then members of the Military Council for National Salvation and the State Council."

"I did not say anything that, as chairman of the commission, I should not have," Rzepka has told GAZETA. "If the general has any complaints against me, he can lodge them with the Sejm Presidium any time."

Henryk Jablonski, the then head of the State Council, admitted before the committee that the State Council had no power to issue decrees while the Sejm was in session. But he defended the decision to impose martial law on the grounds of "higher necessity"—a danger to the country, a threat of foreign intervention or civil war.

Another member of the State Council at the time, Jan Szczepanski, suggested that the commission stop examining the legal aspects of martial law and concentrate instead on the political motives behind it. In his opinion, neither the party nor Solidarity were capable of running the country in 1981, therefore the Army had to assume responsibility for it. "On 13 December, a scenario typical of every military coup was acted out," said Szczepanski. "In the night the Army came out into the streets, and in the morning the leader of the coup appeared on television."

Minister Rejects Charges Against Walesa Aide

AU1501195593 Warsaw PAP in English 1931 GMT 12 Jan 93

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 12—Interior Minister Andrzej Milczanowski on Tuesday [11 January] came to the defence of Mieczyslaw Wachowski, head of President Lech Walesa's office, with an official statement that Wachowski did not attend an Interior Ministry training course for secret service officers in 1975.

In his declaration, Milczanowski states that, following an investigation in the Interior Ministry archives, "I certify that Mr Mieczyslaw Wachowski, currently secretary of state and head of the Presidential Office, did not participate in any training course (for police and secret service officers in the 1970s—ed. note)."

Milczanowski's declaration follows a statement on Monday from Wachowski in which he rejected allegations from right-wing politicians that he had collaborated with the security forces of the communist Polish People's Republic, and called on the Interior Ministry to help clear his name.

Centre Alliance leader Jaroslaw Kaczynski, who stirred the affair by alleging that Wachowski had been trained as a secret police functionary, questioned the credibility of Minister Milczanowski's denial.

Referring to the minister's readiness to show the list of secret police training participants to "appropriate authorities," Kaczynski said that "the files may well have been polished up by now," and that "care has been apparently taken that Wachowski cannot be zeroed in on."

Kaczynski also said that with Minister Milczanowski's statement in hand Wachowski has no reason why not to start a legal action. He added that he would produce "any required evidence" during such a trial.

Actions Taken Against Nuclear Smuggling

LD1501212193 Warsaw PAP in English 1851 GMT 15 Jan 93

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 15—Despite claims in the media to the contrary, the Polish Government, and in particular the State Protection Office (UOP) is not inactive in the face of the illegal trade in radioactive materials in the country, UOP spokeswoman Irena Popoff announced on Friday.

Responding to media criticism of the governments failure to prevent the smuggling of nuclear materials, Ms Popoff stressed that UOP, the branch of the Interior Ministry charged with handling the problem, would explain the actions it was taking only when its own investigations are completed. "Until that time, the activities and decisions of UOP will not, and for obvious reasons cannot, be made public."

Criticising media attention on the subject, Ms Popoff stressed that "the knowledge of journalists investigating the issue cannot be compared with UOP's knowledge," but added that UOP "did not intend to do anything" in relation to a Thursday Polish TV broadcast which showed an alleged attempt by journalists posing as businessmen to set up a deal to sell uranium and plutonium. "That's a problem for the media, not UOP," she said.

Ms Popoff added that in all instances where illegal possession of nuclear material is suspected, "appropriate steps are taken," both legal, and in terms of personal safety.

South African Defense Minister Visits

Meets Vacaroiu, Iliescu

AU1601142493 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1922 GMT 15 Jan 93

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 15/1/1993—On a visit to Romania meant for the assessment of and acquiring information on the possibilities to develop the bilateral relations, a military delegation from the Republic of South Africa headed by Minister of Defense and Public Works Eugene Louw was received Friday, January 15 by Romanian Premier Nicolae Vacaroiu.

The guests assessed their visit to Romania as a very valuable experience, stating they were impressed with the rapid rhythm of reform.

In turn Premier Vacaroiu assessed as positive the perspectives of economic cooperation between the two countries.

On the same day the delegation was received by Romanian President Ion Iliescu.

Further on Talks With Iliescu

AU1601204893 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1335 GMT 16 Jan 93

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 16/1/1993—The call on Romania's President Ion Iliescu by Eugene Louw, minister of defense and public works of South Africa [RSA], occasioned an exchange of information regarding the evolution of the economic and social policies between the two states. Common views were found during the talks regarding the democratization of the two societies and the transition to a market economy.

The visit to Romania of Mr. Louw is, in the opinion of our guest, an important moment for a greater concern for growing bilateral relations.

Holds Talks With Melescanu

AU1601210393 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1100 GMT 16 Jan 93

[Text] Mr. Eugene Louw, minister of defense and public works of the Republic of South Africa [RSA], was received today by Foreign Minister Teodor Melescanu. The talks were attended by Romania's minister of defense, Lieutenant General Niculae Spiroiu.

The visit to Romania by the South African minister is part of an action undertaken by the government of that country to reintegrate itself into the international community, along with measures taken at home to eliminate the relics of the old racial policy. The South African minister is currently on a fact-finding mission.

The Romanian foreign minister briefed his guest on the priorities of Romania's foreign policy, stressing the efforts to ensure good relations with neighboring countries and cooperation with the countries situated in the Black Sea and Danube River area.

Mr. Melescanu assessed the development of Romania-South African relations after the establishment of diplomatic ties as considerable, the South African Republic being Romania's main economic partner in Africa.

The South African minister outlined the internal problems of his country, which—wishing to establish a nonracist and democratic system—is also going through a transition period. Romania is an important Central European partner for South Africa, Mr. Eugene Louw said. He then briefed the Romanian foreign minister on the current stage of negotiations within the conference for a democratic South Africa.

Vacaroiu on Cabinet Work, VAT Postponement

AU1801151993 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1305 GMT 18 Jan 93

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 18/1/1993—Romanian Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu held a news conference on January 18 on the bill of value added tax [VAT] which is to be advanced to Parliament for approval.

In his introductory address, the prime minister referred to the government's recent activity, showing that a package of 50 bills were ready to be forwarded to Parliament. He said the allegations that the government did not work were "false."

Prime Minister Vacaroiu assessed that important progress was marked toward arresting the decline of production and toward re-launching it as a first stage of the process of economic adjustment.

Mr. Vacaroiu also announced that apart from its routine activities, the government was working on a detailed strategy regarding the way of governing in the four years ahead.

Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu then outlined the reasons why the introduction of VAT had been postponed by six months. Among them, he mentioned the steady decline of material production, the delayed delivery of the technical equipment sent to Romania under PHARE funds, the failure to complete the coding of all economic agents, failure of commercial companies to use cash registers, and failure to draw up the specific documents.

He mentioned that the postponement was not a measure to slow down the process of reform, but a step pursuing the adequate and absolutely necessary preparation of this radical system change in the fiscal activity. "For all this delay, we will achieve in about one year what other countries did in between three and ten years," the premier stressed.

This measure "bringing discipline to economic agents and control of fiscal evasion," will bring about, the prime minister assessed, an average 5-6 percent price rise and, in some domains even a 12 percent rise.

Ethnic Hungarians' Party Holds Third Congress

Chairman on Congress Goals

AU1501160193 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1210 GMT 15 Jan 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 15/1/1993—"I should like the moderate trend to have the lead both in the documents of the congress of the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania [UDMR], to open at Brasov, and in the leadership to be elected", the UDMR current chairman, Geza Domokos, told Radio Bucharest. As already known, I am a representative of this moderate thinking, which starts from the realities of today's Romania, its present economic condition and social mentality", added Mr. Domokos, according to whom "the rights of a minority cannot be obtained, maintained and guaranteed in the absence of democracy. The general and the specific interests are convergent in this respect".

As for the UDMR objectives, Gaza Domokos mentioned that the programme to be adopted at Brasov would include the idea of a community autonomy. But "this is a democratic issue. We Hungarians of Romania, we want a deep-seated local autonomy, not only for the regions and localities inhabited by the Hungarians, but from all over Romania". He mentioned that such an autonomy would create a new context equally for a solution to the problems of the minorities, related to the mother tongue, to cultural and educational institutions. It is not the unitary Romanian state, a federalization that is at stake", concluded Geza Domokos.

"The communitary autonomy" has brought about strong rejection reactions by a number of political parties and cultural personalities, that saw a stratagem in it for undermining the unitary character of the Romanian state.

Party Leader Views Minority Issue

AU1501112293 Bucharest TINERETUL LIBER in Romanian 12 Jan 93 pp 1,7

[Interview with Imre Borbelyi, member of the National Presidium of the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania, UDMR, by Francesco Gerardi; place and date not given: "Whether It Is Painful for Us or Not, Redrawing the Borders Is No Longer Possible"]

[Text] [Gerardi] Can we talk about a state of interethnic conflict in Cluj?

[Borbelyi] I cannot give you an answer that I am sure is correct. I can only answer with assumptions or personal impressions. During the demonstration at the Matthias Corvinus Statue in Cluj last year—with the participation of mostly Hungarians, including about 60 percent girls—I did not notice any altercations or disapproving attitude coming from the onlookers. Assuming that these onlookers statistically correspond with the ethnic composition of the city of Cluj—80 percent Romanians, and the rest Hungarians—it means that 80 percent of the onlookers did not disapprove of this demonstration. Nor did we feel any animosity on the part of the police. Even if there were such interethnic tensions, we did not notice them. However, I know that some agitation was made in the Manastur district, mostly in various inns, and this reminds me of the scenario of the disturbances in Tirgu Mures. I do not have to explain to you what kind of people gather in such places and how easy it is to influence them in one way or another, especially how the bitterness of the day accumulates. If the rumors about a nationalist agitation are true, the prospects are not too rosy at all. I think that the national-communist forces in the current government are interested in an interethnic conflict. I used the expression "national-communist" as an analogy to "national socialist" or fascist. Thus, these forces could be interested in the existence of such a conflict for several reasons. First and formeost, this would be a diversion aimed at diverting attention from the harsh winter that has come upon us and that represents a big problem to all of us, because we have no reserves, we have no money, and our economy is down.... It can also have a different reason, a goal in itself. I have many friends in Timisoara, both Serbs and Romanians, and they have relatives in the Serbian Banat who know very well how the tragedy in Yugoslavia has developed and how certain propaganda began to incite the various ethnic groups two years before the war. There are many similarities between that propaganda and the propaganda of these forces in Romania that I call national-communist forces. The Yugoslav tragedy is not only the tragedy of Bosnians or Croats, but also the tragedy of Serbia where no bomb has fallen and no house has collapsed so far, but the economy and prestige of Serbia did collapse, while Serbia was on top in the socialist camp in Tito's time through its contacts with England, France, and the United States. If we consider the fact that unification with Bessarabia is in Romania's national interest, I do not think that confrontation with us Hungarians is the road that could lead to positive developments. In my view, a compromise on both sides to solve the problems would be much more convenient. The harder the current government hits us, the more this thing can also be used in the Dniester region, by inciting the Russians to carry out the same nationalist diversion. Therefore, I think that this [Cluj Mayor] Mr. Funar is only a pawn of those who are in the background propagating a nationlist policy. I also think that this is a game in which no one will be the winner, because all of us stand to lose from all this.

[Gerardi] Let us deal with the recent past. If that meeting in Cluj had been authorized, what would have been its goal?

[Borbelyi] A demonstration against nationalist incitement and against this gesture of statue desecration. It should be quite clear that, although of Romanian origin, Matthias Corvinus was king of Hungary, just like the kings of Romania were of German origin. These things must be known. Matthias Corvinus was one of the greatest Hungarian kings, and there is a feeling of holiness about him among Hungarians, just like Stephen the Great among the Romanians. There has been a continuous national existence of Hungarians in Transylvania, and especially in Cluj, for 300 years, because the rest of the great Hungarian kingdom was partly under Turkish rule and partly under Austrian rule. That protestant national spirit continued here in Transylvania, and it is very interesting to observe that the same Transylvania is the birthplace of the Romanian national spirit, and the place of the first language autonomy for 800 years, namely the autonomy of the Saxons.

[Gerardi] We would like to ask you what the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania [UDMR] intends to do to improve relations between Hungarians and Romanians.

[Bobelyi] I think that the position of the UDMR so far has been a compromise between solving the Hungarians' problems and the political, economic, and social reality prevailing in our country. I am convinced that we will continue to find this compromise in the future. Obviously, this is a game with several participants, not only one. I think that the government is not absolutely homogeneous. There could be differences there, too. The UDMR can continue this idea of our community's autonomy, and I see in this a gesture meant to calm any Romanian who thinks of something bad. He should think what he would do if he were a minority, like a Romanian in Northern Bukovina. I think that this Hungarian trend toward autonomy will become stronger. The two experiences we have had make us realize that redrawing the borders is no longer possible, whether it is painful for us or not and whether we consider it more justified or not. If this is the reality, let us see how to make sure that we Hungarians in Romania will continue to be here after another 300 years! I see no other solution but autonomy. Thus, instead of continuing to repeat that I am not an irredentist, I should rather say that I am in favor of autonomy, and I want to live in Romania in the framework of a community autonomy! I think that sooner or later, perhaps in 10-15 years, Romanian society will understand this and will accept this at least theoretically. I see the same thing for the Romanians living beyond the borders. Romanian society will become conscious of this idea and then our tendency will be understood. All the more so because it is also accepted in the West now after the tragedy of the peoples in the former Yugoslavia, because a lot of Western analysts and politicians find such a solution favorable.

[Gerardi] Could this autonomy become the first step toward secession?

[Borbelyi] If you take good look at Romania's map, you will see that there is no reason for such concern. The only area that is almost entirely Hungarian is the Szekler's land, but it lies a few hundred kilometers from the border. In Romania, 90 percent of the population is Romanian, and in Transylvania 80 percent of the population is Romanian. Therefore, I cannot envisage a secession! All the more so because, from a military point of view, Hungary is a joke, compared with the Romanian Army! The important thing now is for the world to prevent a situation here similar to the one in Yugoslavia.

[Gerardi] Do you think that the tension between Hungarians and Romanians also exists among the population, or only at the level of the leadership of some parties?

[Borbelyi] There is a basic asymmetry in these relations. A lot of peoples became nations by also having an enemy, in addition to the positive motivation of liberty. It is even believed that it is necessary to have an enemy for national cohesion. It is said that this thing acts as a catalyst. From this point of view, Austria was the absolute enemy of Hungarians, with more than 1,000 years of war, and not the Romanians at all! It seems that, for Romanians, Hungarians are the enemy. I can only say that I wish to be able to dismember this feeling sooner or later also in the Romanian society, just like the hatred between Austrians and Hungarians died completely. Unfortunately, today, instead of advancing, we are regressing. It is possible that an overdose of nationalist incitement might have the opposite effect at a certain moment, unless there are other conflicts in the meantime. It is true that there is often anger and rage, but there is never a continuous hate.

[Gerardi] Do you think that a change in the form of government in Romania could be a benefit or a handicap to the interethnic problems?

[Borbelyi] Regarding the community autonomy that can be built completely legally, this would not influence the autonomy directly. Indirectly, however, the prestige of the king and the fact that he is known in the West could be beneficial for the whole country. In any case, a change from republic to monarchy must be made according to the wish of the nation.

[Gerardi] Will there be spectacular changes in the leadership at the upcoming UDMR congress?

[Borbelyi] I do not know what would be a spectacular change at the level of the UDMR leadership. However, such a change is possible at the strategic level. We hope that this congress will be one of solutions rather than confrontations. The true road is the one leading to a structure in which the strategy of the party is implemented, a structure independent of persons as much as possible. In other words, the program, rather than the leaders, should be the important thing.

[Gerardi] Thank you for the interview.

Congress Opens 15 Jan; Tokes Speaks

AU1501133093 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1100 GMT 15 Jan 93

[Text] The Third Congress of the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania [UDMR] opened in Brasov this morning. The congress is attended by 326 delegates, 90 invited guests, and 175 Romanian and foreign journalists.

In his opening speech, Mr. Laszlo Mina, president of the UDMR local branch, mentioned that the congress will discuss important issues and tasks. Speeches were made by Mr. Gheorghe Fulga, the prefect of Brasov County and Mr. Adrian Morozi, the mayor of that town, who suggested drawing up a charter of inter-ethnic cohabitation, which would set out not legal provisions but moral behavior in line with current requirements not only at the national level but also at a European level.

Mr. Laszlo Tokes, UDMR honorary president, also made a speech. He talked about the preservation of the vestiges of dictatorship, about the current rule in Romania—which he called a false democratic rule—and about the impossibility of introducing radical changes as long as, quote, communist diversions and sentiments of fear persist, unquote. In his speech Bishop Laszlo Tokes mentioned, quote, the hostility toward Hungarian ethnics, anti-Semitism, which, even if is not manifested in an active way, benefits from a tacit approval, thus trying to divert attention from the real problems in our society, unquote. Further Mr. Tokes noted that the UDMR and the opposition in Romania are resisting attempts to undermine the achievements of the revolution. He said that hatred of our strivings for independence and territorial self- determination can be noticed and it is in the interest of the whole Romanian nation to create a legal framework for treating the problems of ethnics in Romania. In conclusion, Bishop Laszlo Tokes proposed that a roundtable on the issue of the rights of Hungarians should be organized with the participation of representatives of the Romanian nation. This might be the basis for Romania's cooperation with other countries and peace between Romania and Hungary. Together with Romanian national forces, we must benefit from the declarations and decisions of the Cluj assembly and emerge from the paralyzing state of searching for solutions and find ways to get out of this state and find political alternatives, said Bishop Laszlo Tokes.

Further, invited guests from Romania and abroad addressed the congress. Corneliu Coposu, president of the National Peasant Christian Democratic Ferencz Kulin Party, representative of the Hungarian Democratic Forum; Vintila Bratianu, president of the National Liberal Party-Democratic Convention; Zoltan Gal, on behalf of the Hungarian Socialist Party; Otto Weber, president of the Romanian Ecologist Party; Horia Rusu, president of the National Liberal Party-Young Wing; Terez Szilagyi Csaszar, leader of the Hungarian Christian Democratic Party; Ticu Dumitrescu, leader of the Association of Former Political Detainees; Gabriel Andreescu, president of the Civic Alliance; Istvan Dunai, representative of the Hungarian ethnic minorities in Slovakia also addressed the session.

Our reporters also noted the presence at the congress of the ambassadors of Hungary, Mr. Erno Rudas and of France, Mr. Renaud Vignal and representatives of diplomatic missions of Austria, Poland, Spain, United States, Germany, France, Britain, and of the Republic of Moldova in Bucharest. The congress proceedings are also attended by delegations of the Hungarian ethnic minorities from Slovakia, Serbia, and Ukraine. Likewise, Mr. Csori Sandor, president of the World Federation of Hungarians, is also attending the proceedings of the congress.

Dailies Comment on Congress

AU1601145493 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1250 GMT 16 Jan 93

[From the press review of 16 January]

[Excerpt] Bucharest ROMPRES, 16/1/1993—The proceedings of the Third Congress of the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania [UDMR] is the main subject of various commentaries in the central press. In its editorial, the daily EVENIMENTUL ZILEI is of the opinion that "it is on the personality of the one to be elected at head of that party that the perception by the institutions of the state of law, of the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania, and even of ethnic Hungarians, fundamentally depends." Referring to a possible election of Bishop Laszlo Tokes at head of the UDMR, who, according to the newspaper, is viewed as "a fierce extremist and even an opponent of the Romanian majority," "premises would open for tension between the Romanians and the Hungarians, for an extreme isolation of ethnic Hungarians within the Romanian society. Nationalist-communist ideas would know spectacular progress, while Romanian democratic forces, the forces that pleaded for a more flexible stand, and a more delicate one as regards the UDMR, the forces that stood against the Romanian extremism, would find themselves driven into a corner."

Referring to the question of self-administration of the Hungarian community in Romania, in an interview granted to the newspaper TINERETUL LIBER, Jozsef Koto, Cluj-branch president of UDMR shows that "some that are not perceiving the fundamental ideas of democracy say that we want to tear apart the country, that we want to take Transylvania, and that we are attempting on the sovereignty of the country. Please, do understand that it is but a question of European fundamental democratic principles, the right of all communities to self-administration, and it is not necessarily that of an ethnic group."

Daily DREPTATEA prints the address delivered by Corneliu Coposu, president of the National Peasant Christian Democratic Party [PNT CD], at the UDMR congress, in whose opinion "the observance of the minorities' rights is not running counter with the unity and integrity of Romania." Daily ROMANIA LIBERA titles the address of the PNT CD leader "Mr. Coposu Rejects Territorial Autonomy." [passage omitted]

Congress Discusses Future Statute

AU1701144293 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1100 GMT 17 Jan 93

[Text] The proceedings of the Third UDMR [Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania] Congress resumed in Brasov this morning. The participants listened to a report by the Conciliation Roundtable, a body of this congress. The document includes provisions of a statutary nature, in which, among other things, the name of the organization—the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania—which is a legal entity, officially registered in Romania, headquartered in Bucharest and with branches in Mures, Cluj, and other counties, is mentioned. The roundtable's report, among other things, includes the name of organizations that can be associated with the UDMR, tasks and obligations of this political formation, as well as the structure of bodies that are included in the union.

Current discussions on the future UDMR statute are in progress. Various paragraphs, including the future organization of the UDMR, are being discussed.

Bela Marko Elected UDMR President

AU1701195293 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1800 GMT 17 Jan 93

[Text] During the proceedings of the Third UDMR [Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania] Congress, it was announced that Bela Marko was elected UDMR president by a secret vote.

Here is some biographic data about the new UDMR president. Mr. Bela Marko was born on 8 September 1951 in Tirgu Secuiesc, Covasna County. In 1974 he graduated from the Hungarian-French Section of the Philology Department of the Cluj-Napoca University. He was editor, and later became editor in chief, of the magazine IGAZ SZO [TRUE WORD], which, after 1989, became the literary magazine LATO [WHO SEES]. He became Tirgu Mures' senator on behalf of the UDMR after the 1990 elections. Marko has published 10 volumes of poems, a volume of essays, and a Hungarian literature study book. Mr. Bela Marko is married and has two children.

There were three candidates for the office of UDMR president: Messrs. Laszlo Tokes, Bela Marko, and Laszlo Mina. Mr. Laszlo Tokes announced that he withdrew his candidacy. Among his arguments, we quote: I am considered the most extremist among Hungarians, both by those in power as well as by Romanians.

President Issues Statement

AU1701210993 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 2000 GMT 17 Jan 93

[Interview with newly elected Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania (UDMR) president Bela Marko by Stefan Naciu in Brasov on 17 January—recorded]

[Text] [Naciu] Esteemed listeners, a few minutes after the results of the election of the new UDMR [Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania] president were announced, we turned to Mr. Bela Marko, who has been elected through a secret vote to this office. What are going to be your first actions in this office, Mr. Marko?

[Marko] I am convinced that the UDMR, and in the future as well, must be the same organization that promotes a clear and well-defined policy, and I would say that it must stay a trustworthy political partner, as we have tried to be so far in the past three years. After this congress, however, certain changes occurred and will continue to occur. Certain definitions and clarifications in the program of the Union and certain changes in the statute of the Union will help us to remain an effective representative of the Hungarian community in Romania. At the same time, they will help us tackle all the problems that Romania is currently facing.

[Naciu] During the congress proceedings, your election to this office was anticipated. Do you believe that the UDMR policy will continue to develop toward tolerance, openness, cooperation, and dialogue?

[Marko] Yes, I am convinced that we are interested in dialogue and an efficient cooperation with all the forces in Romania that really want a democratic openness regarding the current situation and cooperation with all the forces with which we have cooperated thus far. I believe that it is in our interest to have such a cooperation in the future.

[Naciu] Please accept our congratulations along with all the other congratulations that you received on the occasion of your election to the position of UDMR president.

[Marko] Thank you.

Congress Concludes 17 Jan

AU1801100893 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 0500 GMT 18 Jan 93

[Text] The Third UDMR [Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania] Congress concluded last night in Brasov. The evening session elected Laszlo Tokes as UDMR honorary president. Other leaders of that political group have also been elected.

Last night the congress discussed the UDMR draft statute. At 2300 UDMR representatives held a news conference, during which newly-elected UDMR President Bela Marko, honorary president Tokes, and former UDMR President Geza Domokos cleared up certain things concerning a number of positions expressed, as well as certain terminology used during the congress.

Officials Hold News Conference

AU1801152193 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1309 GMT 18 Jan 93

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 18/1/1993—At the press conference called late last night by the council of the representatives of the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania [UDMR], the president-elect Bela Marko, the former president Geza Domokos, and the perpetual honorary president Laszlo Tokes described the elements of continuity and renewal in the evolution and program of the UDMR, objecting to dividing its members into "tough" and "moderate."

If until now the UDMR's aims have been prominently cultural, educational, and linguistic, now the union's policies have undergone a change by rooting their aims in the principles of self-determination, with everything they imply. Although the concepts of autonomy and self-determination have been the recurrent ideas of the conference, the UDMR leading personalities present there could not clarify their philosophy, although, to illustrate, they quoted the examples of communities in Germany, Denmark, Finland, Belgium, Canada, and Spain, where, they said, compact minorities have gained autonomy without any harm to the interests of the majority populations.

This caused tension, unease, and restlessness among the journalists constantly concerned with the issue and among the hosts, of whom, however, Geza Domokos proved to be the most high-spirited, which prompted the press to ask whether the reason for his good mood was the shedding of the responsibility as UDMR leader.

As a whole, the press conference, which somehow concluded the UDMR congress, far from having smoothed, it has—on the contrary—complicated the relations of UDMR with the journalists who have already dealt in a biting way with the issue of the autonomy and whose attacks are expected to mount, with Bishop Laszlo Tokes as their favorite target.

Tokes on Rejecting Presidency

AU1801155393 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1520 GMT 18 Jan 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 18/1/1993—Laszlo Tokes, Catholic Bishop of Oradea, honorary member of the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania (UDMR), a figure that came to prominence with the breakout in December 1989 of the Romanian revolution in Timisoara, whose name insistently circulated as imminent candidate for the presidency of the UDMR, explained at the recent Third Congress of the Hungarian Union that he had given up candidacy to the highest position in the union on account, inter alia, of his "complex preoccupations," of "a certain position of the clerics," and of his "artificially created image" as "Romania's enemy number one". This, he said, makes him the prime target of attack against the UDMR, which may lead, in the extreme, to its very dismemberment."

In his opinion, "the purpose is that of weakening the Democratic Convention of Romania (CDR) by striking at the UDMR" through his person. He deems that the "vulnerability of the CDR is what jeopardizes democracy in Romania."

Geneva Peace Plan To Be Adopted by Assembly

AU1901164[illegible]93 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1628 GMT 19 Jan 93

[Report by Slobodan Jankovic from Pale]

[Excerpt] The beginning of the 25th session of the Assembly of the Serbian Republic is expected to start any minute now. As we have already reported, before this session, the deputy caucus met to harmonize the views, especially those concerning the constitutional principles proposed in Geneva. We have unofficially learned that they will be adopted with some reservations. At the end of this meeting, it was agreed that the assembly change its agenda and that instead of discussing the new government, the reshuffling of the government of the Serbian Republic, it should discuss the most important point on the agenda, the Geneva principles. As announced, the discussion will be preceded by a speech by Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serbian Republic. [passage omitted]

Belgrade Radio Predicts Endorsement

AU1901113093 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 19 Jan 93

[Text] Everything is ready for the beginning of the Assembly session of the Serbian Republic [of Bosnia-Hercegovina] in Pale. The session is supposed to decide on the principles proposed in Geneva. Slobodan Jankovic reports:

[Jankovic] That many things depend on the decision of the deputies of this Assembly is confirmed by the enormous interest in the world in today's session. In addition to Yugoslav journalists, there more than 100 journalists from the leading world agencies, newspapers, and radio and television stations here today.

Of course, the uncertainty about whether the Serbian side will say yes, and thus make possible the continuation of the Geneva negotiations, has contributed to the world's attention being directed to small Pale.

It has been announced that the deputy caucus will begin work at 1400. The caucus will try to harmonize views for the assembly session, which is scheduled for 1600. Judging by the mood of the political representatives of the Serbian Republic, one should expect the assembly to support Radovan Karadzic [Serbian Republic president] and give him a mandate to continue the negotiations in Geneva. A new government of the Serbian Republic will be elected at the beginning of the session.

Assembly Session Delayed

AU1901155493 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1533 GMT 19 Jan 93

[Report by Slobodan Jankovic from Pale] [Excerpt] The beginning of the Serbian Republic Assembly has been postponed because the harmonization of views in the deputy caucus has not yet finished. As we have unofficially learned, not everything is going smoothly, especially as regards the deputies from the Bosnian Krajina, who do not want to endorse the constitutional principles from Geneva.

The deputy caucus is meeting behind closed doors and it is difficult to obtain any information. It will only become clearer how the deputies from different parts of the Serbian Republic will vote in the Assembly session, which is expected to start at 1700.

A banner in front of the door to the hall where the session is going to be held reads: To Peace Through Negotiations. Of course, we will learn whether the representatives of the Serbian people from former Bosnia agreed to what their leader Radovan Karadzic promised in Geneva after the voting, at the end of today's session.

It is already known that this will not be simple and especially not unanimous. Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serbian Republic, will present in his speech all the circumstances that led to first rejection and then acceptance of the proposed plan of constitutional principles in Geneva.

Karadzic has many supporters among the deputies, as well as opponents. Biljana Plavsic, vice president of the Serbian Republic, today again expressed the view that the principles should be rejected. [passage omitted]

Officers Call for End of Muslim-Croat Strife

LD1801150593 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 18 Jan 93

[Statement issued by brigade commanders in the Bosnia-Hercegovina Army and in the Croatian Defense Council (HVO) on 17 January—read by announcer]

[Text] 1. The fifth operative group command unanimously describes clashes between some HVO and Bosnia-Hercegovina Army sections in central Bosnia as negative and unnecessary at this fateful moment because they are not in the interest of either the Croatian or the Muslim people in central Bosnia or the struggle against the common Serbo-Montenegrin aggressor for the liberation of the state of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

2. After the political and security situation in the fifth operative group's zone of responsibility was reviewed, it was concluded that the clashes had not impaired the military discipline of the units of the 115th Zrinski Brigade and the Bosnia-Hercegovina Army and had not harmed the interethnic relations of the two nations, whose sons are facing the common enemy side by side.

3. The fifth operative group command unanimously demands that both sides fighting against each other in

parts of central Bosnia be aware of their historic responsibility and live together and do everything to find a peaceful solution and end the clashes.

4. The orders of the supreme command issued by the commander and the command of the fifth operative group will be accepted and implemented in its entirety.

Infighting Reportedly Subsides

LD1901095493 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in English 0905 GMT 19 Jan 93

[Text] The infighting between Croatian Defense Council and Muslim forces in the Gornji Vakuf area is said to be subsiding. Only some sporadic shooting could be heard in the area last night. Muslim forces are said to have laid down their weapons, apologizing for falling for the propaganda by certain individuals in the Bosnian Army who tried to break the coalition between the Croat and Muslim forces in the fight against the common enemy.

HVO Issues 'Ultimatum'

LD1701163493 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 17 Jan 93

[Excerpt] The situation in Gornji Vakuf has been further aggravated, despite exceptional efforts by military and civil bodies in the municipality and the region and UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] representatives. This is, among other things, said in a public statement issued today by the command of the Third Corps of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Army. The statement goes on to stress:

Tensions were particularly heightened by an ultimatum which commanders of the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] delivered to representatives of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Army last night, after, as they said, consultations and agreements with the leaders of the government of the so-called Herceg-Bosna. The ultimatum gives a 24- hour deadline for all HVO decisions on the organization of provinces [proposed in Geneva] to be observed. The decisions are said to be of temporary nature and can be altered if a different agreement is reached at the conference in Geneva. With the aim of implementing their one-sided decisions on the provinces, the HVO demands that all units of the Bosnia-Hercegovina army be withdrawn from Gornji Vakuf and transferred to the areas from which they arrived. This refers particularly to the soldiers who arrived in Gornji Vakuf after the fall of Jajce.

In the ultimatum sent to the Bosnia-Hercegovina Army, the HVO promises that it will not take any action against Bosnia-Hercegovina Army soldiers or civilians of Muslim nationality who have not—as is said—committed any war crimes. The HVO guarantees full equality to Bosnia-Hercegovina Army soldiers if they put themselves under HVO command. At the same time, the HVO demands that present commanders of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Army not be given posts in the military command. The HVO also demands that all members of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Army leave the town [Gornji Vakuf] and proposes that joint military police patrols should be the only armed military formations in Gornji Vakuf.

As the public statement of the III Corps of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Army says, the ultimatum demands that reports about burning down mosques and massacring Muslim civilians by HVO units be denied.

A deadline of 24 hours, which expires on Sunday [17 January], that is, at midnight today, was given for these demands—which have been approved by the government of the so-called Herceg-Bosna—to be fulfilled. Failing this, HVO leaders have warned, they will not be responsible for possible consequences. HVO representatives openly threatened that they were ready to use all available military might for the realization of the demands from the ultimatum. The ultimatum that the HVO delivered to the Bosnia-Hercegovina Army in Gornji Vakuf last night, the statement of the command of the Third Corps of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Army says, is only (?a final) example of a well-planned and carefully prepared plan, which has been realized in the Gornji Vakuf municipality since 8 January.

The statement recalls that on that date, immediately upon their arrival in Gornji Vakuf, Trnovaca, and Gracanica, a group of units of the HVO special forces from Tomislavgrad [formerly Duvno] and Livno, as well as HVO military police units from Livno started with provocations directed against the Bosnia-Hercegovina Army. All this, and many other events which occurred in the meantime, make it obvious that the events in Gornji Vakuf have developed beyond the proportions of local clashes, and that they have been used as an instrument and means of prejudicing political relations in this part of Bosnia-Hercegovina, and in Bosnia-Hercegovina as a whole, the public statement of the Third Corps of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Army says. [passage omitted]

Izetbegovic Rejects Rajic Order

LD1701144793 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1317 GMT 17 Jan 93

[Text] Belgrade, Jan 17 (TANJUG)—Although the proposed plan on dividing Bosnia-Hercegovina into ten provinces is yet to be discussed in Geneva, the defence minister of the Bosnian (Moslem-Croat) coalition is already issuing orders, as if the three warring sides—the Moslems, Croats and Serbs—have already agreed on the territorial division of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Bosnian Defence Minister Bozo Rajic on Saturday [16 January] ordered all Croatian Defence Council (HVO) troops to place themselves under the control of the Bosnian Moslem Army in the provinces the Geneva plan drew as Moslem.

Croatian Radio reported on Saturday evening that Rajic ordered the Bosnian Moslem Army to place itself under HVO's control in the Croatian provinces and sent an ultimatum to the Bosnian Serbs to withdraw their forces to territories designated by the Geneva plan as Serbian.

The HVO Supreme Command of Herzeg-Bosnia, the Bosnian Croat state, issued a similar command on Friday and warned that all Moslem troops refusing to submit to HVO control will be disarmed like paramilitary formations.

Bosnian Moslem leader Alija Izetbegovic rejected the request that HVO take over the control of joint (Croat-Moslem) units operating under Croatian control in western Bosnia-Hercegovina, REUTERS said on Saturday.

'That is something unacceptable to us. It would mean the mutual disintegration of Bosnia-Hercegovina', Izetbegovic said at a news conference in Sarajevo on Saturday.

'I am refusing subordination (of Croatian units over Moslem ones) but bilateral command is something to be discussed', Izetbegovic said. Fierce fighting broke out between nominal allies Moslems and Croats in central Bosnia in areas populated by both of these nations after Vance and Owen [cochairmen of the Conference on Yugoslavia] proposed Bosnia's territorial division in Geneva last week.

HVO on Saturday introduced a curfew (from 20:00 to 06:00) in Ljubusko, Capljina and Mostar, towns controlled by Croats but boasting a majority Moslem population.

Croatian Radio said the curfew was imposed because of the general political feelings after the Geneva talks and because of the Moslem extremists' armed incidents in Gornji Vakuf.

Moslems and Croats have for a week now been fiercely fighting over Gornji Vakuf, a central Bosnian town on what is to be the border of two provinces—a Croat and a mixed Moslem-Croat.

Clashes have also broken out among Moslems on Mt. Igman, where the local Moslem Army troops attacked Juka Prazina's commandos, Croatian Radio reported on Sunday. They clashed because Prazina decided to submit his units to the HVO authority.

Izetbegovic Criticizes Croatian Actions

LD1901013193 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2300 GMT 18 Jan 93

[Text] The situation in Gornji Vakuf is increasingly tense and there is a danger that the [Croat-Muslim] conflict could engulf a wider area. In connection with this, Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency, addressed the citizens of Bosnia-Hercegovina this evening.

[Begin Izetbegovic recording] Regarding Muslims and Croats: they have lived together for hundreds of years. Regarding their armies, the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] and the Bosnia-Hercegovina Army have been fighting together.

But some people from the HVO, I must say this clearly, some HVO hotheads wanted to start this conflict. At the same time, they are causing confusion among the people by invoking that something similar has been agreed upon in Geneva. As you know, nothing yet has been agreed upon in Geneva. They spread tales that documents already have been signed, that everything is finished, that the Bosnia-Hercegovina Army is now disobeying these conclusions, although it is quite clear that this is not true. Any person with minimum information knows that negotiations are still underway.

Even if documents were signed—which is not the case—they do not state that there are special Muslim, special Croat, and special Serb provinces. Indeed, the documents state that provinces cannot be given national names precisely so that no nation feels foreign and alien in them—not feel like a minority. So, one province is called Mostar, one Bihac, and so on and so on. We have insisted on this. The talks have finished. The talks have not been completed.

If things continue like this, it will be the best gift to the aggressors against Bosnia-Hercegovina, criminals who attacked the people. Unfortunately, some people do not understand this.

Not only that, but they issued some ultimatums, issued some deadlines. With what right and on what basis are they prepared to, for instance, proclaim the Bosnia-Hercegovina Army a paramilitary formation in Mostar, Jablanica, and Prozor? These are people who committed war crimes in Prozor. We will call them to account. We asked for evidence to be collected. Those who committed war crimes in Prozor and those who are preparing to do the same in Gornji Vakuf should know that they will be held accountable for war crimes. We know their names. They will not go unpunished.

I want to appeal to Bosnians and Hercegovinians, the citizens of Bosnia-Hercegovina, to refuse resolutely to take part in this madness. I call on HVO soldiers to refuse to shoot the people. I also call on soldiers of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Army to exercise maximum restraint, not to respond wherever they can, because this is the only way to normalize this and to foil some people's plans which obviously lack any reason.

I heard in a phone call, which I just had, that our refugees in Croatia also are being threatened. Instead of appealing [words indistinct], people there [in Croatia] practically are being urged to make problems for our refugees, which would be a shameful thing to do.

We will hold a government session tonight and will consider whether to raise this issue with the UN Security Council and whether to ask that this new aggression against Bosnia-Hercegovina from the other side be condemned and that sanctions be introduced.

Naturally, we have been trying to avoid this turn of events, but our back is now against the wall and we have nowhere to go.

Furthermore, we will call for a gathering of the Muslim countries and urge them to issue a protest note to the government in Zagreb, and to use their influence, which they have, and call on that government not to interfere in the affairs of Bosnia-Hercegovina, least of all by sending tanks to kill people.

Unfortunately, there is nothing else left for me to do but this. We have—all citizens of Bosnia-Hercegovina and Croatia should know this—offered to hold talks. We invited Mr. Prljic to come with his team to Sarajevo and have talks. As you know, I went several times to have talks in Mostar, Split, and Zagreb, and now I invited them to come to Sarajevo. As far as I have heard, Mr. Prljic refused such talks. This does not bode well, because [words indistinct].

Anyway, we will try to preserve peace, but we must be....[Izetbegovic pauses] I also must say clearly that we will defend Bosnia-Hercegovina; we will defend the lives and safety of its citizens—we will defend them at any cost. [end recording]

Gornji Vakuf Fighting Continues

LD1801172093 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 18 Jan 93

[Report by Slavko Rako from Mostar for Croatian Radio]

[Text] Twelve Croats have so far been killed and over 40 injured in clashes with Muslim formations in Gornji Vakuf. Many houses and industrial facilities belonging to Croats have been destroyed and set ablaze. Following overnight provocations, Muslim forces this morning launched heavy attacks against units of the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] and Croatian populated districts in an attempt to take over dominant positions, to take control of the roads, and to force the Croatian people to move out.

Over the last few days, units of the HVO refrained from using heavy weapons in the hope that a peaceful solution would be found. Today, however, they were forced to respond with all available means, the HVO Herceg-Bosnia Croatian Community Defense Department says in a statement today.

The statement adds that events in Gornji Vakuf are part of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Army's strategy to cut off the Travnik area from Hercegovina.

From its extraordinary session today, the HVO sent a message of support to HVO units in Gornji Vakuf, with a remark that help will be forthcoming in the form of extra HVO armed forces. It is also stated that extremist Muslim combatants have been arming themselves for the final showdown with the Croatian people instead of joining in the struggle against the common aggressor.

Despite an agreement, under which a delegation with Alija Izetbegovic at the head would visit Mostar to discuss the situation in Gornji Vakuf, Alija Izetbegovic has subsequently invited Dr. Jadranko Prljic, chairman of the HVO, to travel to Sarajevo. Dr. Prljic today sent a letter to Alija Izetbegovic stating that the latter's suggestion to change the venue of the meeting is yet another in the series of his vague political moves. In a lengthy letter, Alija Izetbegovic is being invited personally to inform the Muslim people about his statement made in Geneva, to the effect that there are no disputes over the demarcation lines between the Muslim and Croatian people.

Muslims in 'Total Disarray'

LD1801223593 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 18 Jan 93

[Excerpt] Combatants of the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] have taken the village of Hrasnica. Sections of the Muslim forces have surrendered their arms. In the village of Zdrinjci parts of the Muslim forces are in total disarray and have laid down arms. This was announced this evening by the HVO press center in Gornji Vakuf. The same source reported that members of HVO units are now on the [Srmica] hill above the town where Muslim forces were deployed in well-built cemented trenches. Fierce fighting started at about 0600 when HVO units used all available means to respond to an attack. [passage omitted]

Infighting Spreads to Bugojno

LD1801152793 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1443 GMT 18 Jan 93

[Text] Banja Luka, 18 Jan (TANJUG)—Military clashes between units of the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] and the so-called Bosnia-Hercegovina Army loyal to Alija Izetbegovic are spreading toward Bugojno, the press centre of the 1st Krajina Corps of the Serb republic army announced today in Banja Luka.

After Izetbegovic ordered his forces not to obey the HVO's order, the clashes around Gornji Vakuf have spread to Novi Travnik. Fierce battles between the recent allies are, according to the same source, being waged close to Bugojno. In Ludari, a village between Bugojno and Travnik, Muslim forces set on fire all houses belonging to Croatian families. The stepping up of Muslim attacks on Croats has been explained by the fact that Izetbegovic's followers do not want to recognize this area as a Croatian canton but are fighting for a unitary Bosnia-Hercegovina.

According to Serbian sources, Croatian houses were set on fire in the village of Causlije. Two unidentified aircraft, which did not engage in combat action, were seen flying over Novi Travnik. The aircraft do not belong to the Serb Republic Army, the statement adds.

Izetbegovic on Peace Plan, Croat-Muslim Clashes

LD1701032593 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2300 GMT 16 Jan 93

[Text] Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency, and Foreign Minister Haris Silajdzic held a news conference yesterday afternoon. Let us hear portions of the news conference prepared by our editor, Nada Rajkovic.

At the beginning of the news conference, Mr. Alija Izetbegovic informed journalists about his meeting with Vance and Owen [cochairmen of the Conference on Yugoslavia] in Zagreb.

[Begin Izetbegovic recording] I believe that Owen and Vance's aim was to prepare the next round of talks. I drew this conclusion because in the beginning of our talks they said that they wanted to discuss maps, in particular the corridor through Posavina. You know, that corridor has gained some kind of sad glory; the corridor between Bijeljina and the Krajinas. They presented me with their idea about the corridor. In my criticism of the proposal, I said that this was their proposal, but they later said this was not a proposal, but just an idea. [previous three words in English] Therefore, only an idea, but an important idea about creating a corridor to the advantage of the chetniks—or I do not know what to call them—a corridor that would link the Bijeljina area—and therefore Serbia—with Krajina, with the future Banja Luka province. They were talking about a corridor that would be 20-30 km wide.

We, of course, were surprised by that proposal. We rejected it. We had to reject it several times, because the discussion, the persuasion about the corridor, went on for one and a half hours, maybe even longer. We rejected it several times in order to say a final no to the proposal. In their explanation of the proposal, Vance and Owen said a concession would be made to us. They envisaged another corridor that the other side would accept, a corridor linking the Cazin Krajina via Bosanski Petrovac toward Livno. We believed that this compensation was completely inadequate, and we of course rejected it.

Mr. Tudjman [Croatian president] and Mr. Mate Boban [Croatian leader in Bosnia-Hercegovina] also tried to persuade us to accept the corridors. They were in favor of the corridors. Our reason was, among others, that neither Croatian nor Muslim nations living in that area were ready to accept such a thing, and we also said that this was a factor in the disintegration of Bosnia, or a recognition that Bosnia does not exist as a state. We reminded Vance and Owen and others that the offered documents, as you remember, envisaged the freedom of movement of goods and people throughout Bosnia-Hercegovina, and we said we believed that every road in Bosnia-Hercegovina is a corridor, and therefore, we do not need any special corridors. [end recording]

The second part of Alija Izetbegovic's stay in Zagreb was devoted to talks on tensions between the Bosnia-Hercegovina Army and the Croatian Defense Council [HVO].

[Begin Izetbegovic recording] In this part of the meeting we did not reach any conclusions either except for some kind of general accord that these clashes are unnecessary and that they are useful for the enemy. We accused each other. We heard, to a certain extent, subjective analysis about the culprits and roots of these clashes. We had our views and our reasons. The other side had its reasons. We did not reach any conclusions. We just agreed that this situation should be calmed down. However, at that moment, as we were talking, we did not know. We knew about the conflict in Gornji Vakuf, but we did not know that the reason for these clashes was some kind of order issued by the HVO, an order about the subordination of [Bosnia-Hercegovina] army units in parts of the future Mostar and Travnik provinces—subordination to the HVO command and, reciprocally, the subordination of HVO units outside of these provinces to the command of the [Bosnia-Hercegovina] army. This decision is unilateral and we did not know about it at the time. If we had known, the discussion probably would have gone in another direction with maybe more dramatic tones and more categorical statements—if we had known about this statement at the time. The topic of the talks were the current clashes in Gornji Vakuf and the danger that this conflict could spread. [end recording]

Serbs Deny Shelling Water Supply Line

LD1601221493 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2018 GMT 16 Jan 93

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 16 Jan (TANJUG)—The Army of the Serb Republic [in Bosnia-Hercegovina] categorically denies every attempt at linking its activities with the alleged death of people queuing for water in the Muslim-controlled part of Sarajevo and responsibly claims that on the stated day, or the day before, it did not engage in any combat activities near the scene of the alleged massacre of civilians. This was made clear in a statement from the information service of the main headquarters of the Serb Republic Army, carried by SRNA [Bosnian Serb news agency] this evening. [passage indistinct]

The statement stresses: "On the morning of 15 January, Muslim radio issued a statement by their police saying that all people should stay off the streets because, allegedly, the town was expected to be shelled. The statement was repeated several times, and was followed by another one saying that people queuing for water near a brewery in the town's old quarter were hit by a shell."

This confusing statement has been repeated on Muslim radio for two days, stating different and contradictory information about the number of the dead and wounded. They occasionally also broadcast fabrications about the shelling of the part of Sarajevo which is under Muslim control, the statement says.

It is obvious that after the failure of attributing to Serbs the massacre of people in the bread queue in Vaso Miskin-Crni Street and the killing of people at funerals and similar insinuations—which most world media uncovered and then named the true people who staged and carried out these crimes—the Muslim propaganda could not invent anything better, so it is again trying to offer the world the same thing that failed several times before—the massacre of innocent people in queues—the statement says.

We believe that well-intentioned people and institutions in the world will not believe the unconvincing and obvious fabrications, but this time we expect more: "We expect the world to condemn such brutal, criminal, and primitive methods of jihad propaganda."

"Each Muslim propaganda lie is payed with by the lives of dozens of people, mainly Serbs we assume, so this no longer is war propaganda but a war crime, and the creators of such propaganda in the Muslim part of Sarajevo are war criminals," the statement of the information service of the Serb Republic Army's main headquarters says in conclusion.

Conditions in Zepa 'Less Dramatic' Than Expected

AU1901085293 Paris AFP in English 0422 GMT 19 Jan 93

[Report by Patrick Lescot]

[Text] Sarajevo, Jan 19 (AFP)—Doctors in the besieged Bosnian town of Zepa, cut off from the outside world for eight months, have had to carry out 36 amputations, seven of them on children, without anaesthetics, a U.N. official said here Monday [18 January].

The amputations, six of which led to the patients' deaths, were carried out using a hacksaw, said Larry Hollingworth of the U.N. High Commission for Refugees, returning here from a successful supply mission to the town in Bosnia-Hercegovina's eastern mountains.

Doctors in the town also told the U.N. mission members that around 900 of the estimated 25,000 people in Zepa had died of cold, hunger and war wounds during the eight-month-long siege by Bosnian Serb forces.

Four hundred had died of cold and hunger, 430 of injuries and between 60 and 70 of illness, the local doctors were quoted as saying.

Risto Tervakonta, a Finnish doctor who went to the town for the U.N. World Health Organisation, said that three of the dead amputees had been children.

Hollingworth said the members of the U.N. supply mission had seen some 200 freshly-dug graves at Zepa, which saw its local population swollen by thousands of refugees at the start of the fighting.

The supply mission, seen by U.N. officials here as a test of their ability to move around Bosnia-Hercegovina, had left Sarajevo on Thursday carrying 76 tonnes of supplies, but was held up for several days in the mountains by local Serb forces.

They finally let it into the town on Sunday, after stipulating that it could not take in any fuel for the local people.

While painting a horrific picture of conditions in the town, the U.N. officials implicitly criticized the image of conditions there given early by the mainly Moslem Bosnian government here.

Hollingworth said that the populace, although "pale and weakened," were not starving, contrary to what the Bosnian authorities had led them to believe.

Most of them were in anaemic condition, and were surviving on dried meat and a kind of bread made out of straw, which the U.N. official described as "uneatable."

He also said that there were three doctors in the town, and not only one as earlier reported. However he confirmed that the local infirmary had been completely without medical supplies, save for a few scalpels and needles—and the hacksaws.

The situation in Zepa was "less dramatic than what he had expected," Hollingworth said.

Although the besieged residents had persistently demanded fuel, they were in fact managing to heat themselves thanks to firewood gleaned in the heavily wooded area the town was located in, he said.

And Hollingworth also denied Bosnian government reports saying that 70 percent of the town—which in fact consisted of a central conurbation surrounded by some 33 small villages—had been razed by Serb artillery.

Dr. Tervakonta explained that surprisingly, many of the older residents of the town expressed no resentment of the surrounding Serbs, and said that the U.N. convoy had delivered messages between people on the opposing sides who knew one another.

Several of the messages delivered to the Serb besiegers from residents of Zepa had moved their recipients to tears, he added, noting that the Serbs apparently did not want to occupy the town, recognising that it was 100-percent Moslem in make-up.

The UNHCR official said he was optimistic as to the development of the situation around Zepa, and added that the recent onset of milder weather should help ease hardships there.

However the two officials stressed that the one afternoon and one night the convoy had spent in the town had not given them time to gain a full understanding of the situation.

UNHCR Convoy Delivers Aid

AU1701182193 Paris AFP in English 1803 GMT 17 Jan 93

[Text] Sarajevo, Jan 17 (AFP)—A U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) aid convoy reached the besieged eastern Bosnian town of Zepa on Sunday [17 January], bringing relief to the 25,000 mainly Moslem defenders trapped there for the past eight months, U.N. sources said.

The eight-lorry convoy, carrying 76 tonnes of aid, had been blocked twice Saturday in its attempts to reach the town where reports indicated that many of the population had died of hunger and cold.

The convoy, which left Belgrade on Thursday, arrived in the town in mid-afternoon, a spokesman for the U.N. Protection Force said here.

It had been blocked earlier in the day a few kilometres from the town by tree trunks put on the road by forces of the Bosnian Government to defend the town against the besieging Serbs.

The relief material is the first to reach the town since the beginning of the siege last April.

UN Spokesman: Croats May Have Fired on Convoy

LD1501204293 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1852 GMT 15 Jan 93

[Text] Zagreb, Jan 15 (TANJUG)—Spokesman of the U.N. high commissioner for refugees Peter Kessler said on Friday [15 January] that a humanitarian convoy was fired at from small-arms near Mostar on Thursday and that it may have been done by Croats. Kessler said that three trucks had been hit by bullets but that no one was injured, REUTER reported from Zagreb. The shots may have been fired by Croat troops convinced that the humanitarian convoy was supplying Moslem forces with whom they have been clashing recently despite their nominal alliance against Serbs, he pointed out.

Kessler said that incidents on the Mostar route used by humanitarian convoys had grown frequent due to increased tension between Croats and Moslems over the future division of Bosnia-Hercegovina being negotiated in Geneva. After expelling all Serbs, Croats proclaimed the state community of 'Herceg-Bosnia' in that part of western Hercegovina, with Mostar as its administrative centre. The territory is under Croatian Army control and Croatian laws are applied to it.

Croats Reportedly Violating No-Fly Zone

LD1501194393 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1802 GMT 15 Jan 93

["Pool" item]

[Text] Geneva, Jan. 15 (TANJUG)—The whole world knows that Serbs do not fly in the no-fly zone over Bosnia-Hercegovina, cochairman of the Geneva conference on former Yugoslavia Cyrus Vance said on Friday [15 January].

Vance said he had been personally assured by the U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR) that the U.N. resolution on the no-fly zone was being complied with by the Serb side.

Vance spoke with deputy head of Yugoslavia's delegation to the Geneva talks and Ambassador to the U.N. Vladimir Pavicevic, who conveyed to him a letter from Yugoslav President Dobrica Cosic on the massive violations of the no-fly zone by Croatians.

The letter said that the Croatian side was violating the no-fly zone with a view to provoking the use of force against the Serb people.

Pavicevic quoted Vance as saying he agreed with the contents of the letter and that he would point out to Croatian President Franjo Tudjman on Friday—when he is due in Zagreb—that Croatia was violating the U.N. Security Council resolution.

On Thursday five members of the council lodged a protest with Croatia, accusing it of frequent violations of the no-fly zone during December.

Cosic has addressed letters of the same contents to U.N. Secretary-General Butrus Butrus-Ghali, the E.C. Ministerial Council, the cochairmen of the conference on former Yugoslavia and UNPROFOR Commander Gen. Satish Nambiar.

Curfew Imposed in Croat-Controlled Areas

LD1601224693 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 16 Jan 93

[Text] Based on a decision by the Croatian Defense Council's [HVO] Fourth Hercegovina Brigade command, all municipal police chiefs have issued an order imposing a curfew. In Ljubuski and Capljina the curfew will be in force between 2000 and 0500, and in Mostar between 2000 and 0600. The curfew has been imposed because of the general political situation following the Geneva agreement and because of the armed conflicts caused by Muslim extremists in Gornji Vakuf.

According to the HVO information service, Alija Izetbegovic will visit Mostar tomorrow, heading the Muslim delegation that will hold talks with the leadership of the Croat community of Herceg-Bosnia.

Muslims Reportedly Shell FRY Territory

LD1801145693 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1346 GMT 18 Jan 93

[Text] Ljubovija, 18 Jan (TANJUG)—From the village of Kunjarac on the left bank of the River Drina, between 1100 and 1200 this morning, Muslims of Srebrenica fired nine mortar shells onto the territory of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in the region of the village of Grabovica in the municipality of Ljubovija.

TANJUG has learned from Yugoslav Army sources that the response to the attack was ferocious and, as later assessed, very precise, since the weapons used to attack the FRY have been destroyed.

The shells, which hit the region of Grabovica, a village eight kilometers from Ljubovija in the direction of Bajina Basta, were fired from an 82-mm mortar launcher, but fortunately caused no damage.

Muslim Forces Reportedly Attacking Sarajevo

LD1801232593 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2309 GMT 18 Jan 93

[Text] Pale, January 18 (TANJUG)—Moslem forces attacked Bosnian Serb positions in the Sarajevo battlefield all day Monday [18 January], with fierce artillery attacks on Serb-held Sarajevo suburbs—Ilidza, Nedzarici, Blazuj and Hadzici.

Mortars and howitzers shelled civilian facilities in the above mentioned suburbs from Butmir and Sokolovica Kolonija, Moslem-held parts of Sarajevo. The hospital in Blazuj was also shelled.

The centre of Ilidza was shelled, and Bosnian Serbs Army Romanija-Sarajevo Corps Information Service claims that Moslem forces used poison gas during the attack from Butmir.

Moslem "green [illegible] ned artillery fire on Ilijas (a Serb-held settlen [illegible] ms from Sarajevo) on Monday morning, said Bo [illegible] Serb military sources.

Nothing is yet known of a convoy of some 200 Sarajevo citizens who wished to leave the city on Monday. The convoy, organized by a Sarajevo-based humanitarian organization, was scheduled to leave in the morning, but according to the border police at Ilidza, they have not yet left the bus terminal.

Under an earlier agreement members of Serbian nationality were to leave in the direction of Pale, the political centre of Bosnian Serbs in the vicinity of Sarajevo, while the Croats and Moslems were to take the road to Kiseljak, a Croat-controlled town northwest of Sarajevo.

Three French Soldiers Wounded at Sarajevo Airport

AU1701163393 Paris AFP in English 1624 GMT 17 Jan 93

[Text] Sarajevo, Jan 17 (AFP)—Three French soldiers were wounded at Sarajevo airport Sunday [17 January] by Bosnian mortar fire, a spokesman for the U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR) said.

The soldiers, who were manning a checkpoint at the airport, were hit by mortar fire coming from Hrasnica, a Sarajevo suburb held by Bosnians, near the airport runway, the spokesman said.

About a dozen shells landed around the soldiers' position in the incident.

Injured by the blasts, the soldiers were treated for their wounds at the scene, but their condition was not serious, the spokesman said.

About 20 French soldiers have been injured in Sarajevo since the start of the conflict.

Before the incident, a U.N. High Commission for Refugees convoy taking food to the suburbs of Dobrinja and Butmir, also close to the airport, was hit by artillery fire, but there were no injuries.

The two suburbs are regularly hit by Serbian fire.

Seven Killed in Air Raid on Srebrenica

LD1701184393 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 17 Jan 93

[Excerpt] The aggressor's air force continued its combat activities today in the Srebrenica area. At 1445, 1515, and 1705 two aircraft dropped their lethal loads, killing seven and injuring nine in Srebrenica. The town is burning. These days it is suffering worse than hell. The aggressors are using every weapon at their disposal in their efforts to annihilate the 45,000 people of Srebrenica. Aircraft, napalm bombs, and shells of every caliber are killing, burning, and destroying everything in the Srebrenica area. [passage omitted]

Civilians Reported Killed in Serb Offensive

LD1901020593 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2300 GMT 18 Jan 93

[Text] A total of 73 civilians, including 38 children younger than 11, were killed in a ferocious chetnik offensive on villages in the free Zvornik area [in eastern Bosnia on the border with Serbia] that has been lasting for four days. The Zvornik press center reported that the situation is critical in the village of (?Selskame).

France's Kouchner Arranges Prisoner Exchange

LD1701195293 Paris France-Inter Radio Network in French 1800 GMT 17 Jan 93

[Text] An exchange of Serbian and Bosnian prisoners is under way in Sarajevo today following an intervention by Bernard Kouchner. The French health and humanitarian affairs minister acted as a diplomatic courier; bearing a letter by President Izetbegovic promising regular releases of Serbian prisoners, Bernard Kouchner left the town with 32 men and anxious to recover 32 Bosnian prisoners held by the Serbs. For Bernard Kouchner this initiative has an obvious special meaning:

[begin recording] [Kouchner] It means confidence from both sides in the French position, and perhaps special feelings toward France, since in giving me this letter President Izetbegovic said that this is a question of confidence. On the other side, on the Serbian side, I believe that we are also welcome. This is the beginning of something, if we can nave access to women in places everyone is attempting to visit and no one could visit so far. So will it succeed? I do not know, knock on wood and hope for the best. This is a first step on a very arduous path. Naturally, 30 released, this is not much, this is always insufficient, many remain but what can I tell you? I believe that France's position here, in this horrible conflict, was valued.

[Journalist] You are leaving for Belgrade, what do you expect from your talks with Serbian leaders?

[Kouchner] I never hope anything before attempting anything, and I am naturally deeply pessimistic, this allows me to withstand the misfortunes of fate including, obviously, those coming from our friends. [end recording]

Karadzic Insists on FRY-Serb Republic Corridor

AU1801145593 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 15 Jan 93 p 5

[Report by Gradisa Katic on interview with Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serbian Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, in Belgrade "last night"]

[Text] It is not easy to predict the decision of the assembly, because the assembly is a democratic body. If it is necessary, if the assembly decides, it will hold a secret ballot. The assembly session is expected to take place very soon. Considering the war conditions, we will probably not be able to hold it before the Epiphany, which means in the first half of next week.

I believe that a significant majority will accept the prospects offered by this document, because we can accomplish our ultimate goal in this way, too. This is not the shortest way, but the way laid down by the cochairmen. This was stated late last night by Radovan Karadzic, leader of the Bosnian Serbs, in the Bosanka Villa in Belgrade after consultations with his closest aides.

[BORBA] You stated that you will tender resignation if the assembly does not say yes.

[Karadzic] Yes. If the assembly rejects this document, and thus rejects the actions of our delegation, even though we accepted this document only conditionally, I would be obliged to offer my resignation to the assembly. If our views on the further development of events and the conduct of political and diplomatic activities differ considerably, I would be obliged to resign, because I was elected by that assembly. I was not elected in direct elections, because, according to our Constitution, the first president is elected by the assembly because of the war.

[BORBA] You first said no, and then, conditionally, yes. Could you explain the significant factors that affected your decision?

[Karadzic] Looking from the point of view of what this document is offering us, we could have said no. From the point of view of what this document is not preventing us from doing, and what the state of Bosnia-Hercegovina would look like, it is quite clear to us that this state cannot be unitarian, that it can only be a loose association of provinces, that is to say, three constituent peoples. This is why we accepted the document. Of course, the condition is, as the conchairmen said, that the Constitution be adopted through a consensus. Therefore, we will be able to realize our right to create a state, freedom, and autonomy. We cannot accede our republic to Serbia, but we can realize our sovereign right, which we will enjoy in the future.

[BORBA] What will happen to the corridor between Yugoslavia and the Serbian Republic, which is obviously the main obstacle to signature of the Geneva document?

[Karadzic] The corridor has not been broken. The proposal on creating province number three envisions closure of the corridor. The bulk of the province is Serbian, however. We told all our partners in the talks: The corridor will be there, either willingly or by force. There is no way that anyone can deprive us of it, especially since the Serbs hold more than 50 percent of the territory there and they make up more than 40 percent of the population.

[BORBA] What was their reply?

[Karadzic] No one opposed our view. We agreed with the Croats on 3 January that we must have a land corridor. They are hoping that the border will not run precisely along the Sava River. They are hoping that they will gain something there, but they know that we will have a corridor there.

[BORBA] Could you tell us whether you made any important decisions in the talks that you have just held with your aides?

[Karadzic] No, we have not. We only discussed our next steps.

[BORBA] What are these steps?

[Karadzic] We will try to shift our activities from war to diplomacy. We will do everything we can to stop the war and to accomplish our goals with political means.

[BORBA] Does this mean that the war will finally stop and that there will be no foreign intervention?

[Karadzic] Foreign intervention does not depend on us at all. If they want to intervene, they will intervene no matter what we do. I do not think that intervention will take place, and do not think that it would have taken place even if we had not signed the document.

[BORBA] What are the grounds for this view?

[Karadzic] They would find it difficult to pull out from such an intervention. They could only attack some of our targets from a distance, from the air. This would essentially not resolve anything, but would only push these countries into the "mud." Ending the war depends on the international community. If it exerts equal pressure on the Muslims and Croats, as it did on the Serbs, the war would end in a week.

Karadzic: Muslims Seeking Foreign Intervention

LD1901015293 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0108 GMT 19 Jan 93

[Text] Pale, January 18 (TANJUG)—President of the Serbian republic in Bosnia-Hercegovina (RS) Radovan Karadzic said Monday [18 January] evening the attacks by the Moslem forces on the territory of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (F.R.Y.) was an "attempt to draw it into the war, so as to provoke foreign military intervention."

In a statement to the RS television, he added that Moslems were doing this because, as he said, it was now clear to everyone around the world that Yugoslavia was not involved in this war.

Karadzic noted that "whenever the international conference on Yugoslavia took a favorable course, the Moslem side undertook everything it could to prevent this."

In his view, further justification of the sanctions against Yugoslavia, too, became incomprehensible.

The "sanctions were imposed against Yugoslavia formally because of our defending our rights, but in actual fact for totally different reasons—because of the German lobby and its allies," said Karadzic.

He added that, nevetheless, Serbia and Yugoslavia now have the peace initiative, as borne out at the Geneva conference. The Moslem side was not at all satisfied with the change in attitude of the international community towards Yugoslavia and for this reason it took to aggression, believes Karadzic.

Speaking about the increasingly frequent and fierce armed clashes between Moslems and Croats in Bosnia-Hercegovina, Karadzic set out that this was no surprise since their alliance was based on identical goals—secession from Yugoslavia, but their views differed as regards constitutional arrangements for Bosnia-Hercegovina.

The "Croats, too, were not satisfied with Moslem domination and their position was now much closer to the Serb than to the Moslem position concerning the order of the former Bosnia-Hercegoviona," assessed Karadzic.

In his view, the Croats encountered difficulties over the "natural alliance" with the Moslems, because they were being deprived of the territories they had counted on.

Conditions of Imprisoned Serbs Shock UN Envoy

LD1901171993 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1515 GMT 19 Jan 93

[Text] Warsaw, January 19 (TANJUG)—Tadeusz Mazowiecki, the U.N. Human Rights Commission's special rapporteur on former Yugoslavia, said on Tuesday [19 January] that he was "shocked by the latest information" on the difficult situation for Serbs in Moslem and Croat prisons.

Some 8,000 prisoners have been freed from prisons in the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, most of them by the Serb side. Another 3,000 are still imprisoned, Mazowiecki said on return from his third mission in former Yugoslavia.

A civil, ethnic and religious war has been going on in Bosnia-Hercegovina for ten months now, between the local Moslems, Serbs (Orthodox) and Croats (Catholic). The war broke out because Moslem leaders wanted to make Bosnia the first Islamic state in the heart of Europe by forcefully seceding from Yugoslavia, which the Bosnian Serbs opposed.

Mazowiecki was disappointed by the Hercegovina Croat leader Mate Boban, who did not fulfil the promise to free all Serb prisoners.

Members of Mazowiecki's mission heard the complaints of the Serbs living in Croatian territories controlled by the Zagreb government. The Serbs who had applied for Croatian citizenship said they had been treated disgracefully and interrogated in the worst police manner.

Croatian authorities refuse to issue citizenship certificates to many Serbs, which—according to the mission—is "an element of ethnic cleansing. Without certificates they lose the right to work, receive pensions, social security, and are eventually forced to emigrate."

Tudjman Views Bosnian Situation, UN Mandate

LD1801214093 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 18 Jan 93

[News conference by President Franjo Tudjman with domestic and foreign correspondents in Zagreb—live]

[Excerpts] [Correspondent] Mr. President, what is your comment on the further development of the Geneva talks in light of the fact that the Bosnian Serbs are expected to accept [words indistinct]. Can such a signature be trusted?

[Tudjman] It can be trusted insofar as they will be forced to comply with the signature, to abide by the signature. I believe that the international community has reached a stage where it will have to make a demand in the form of an ultimatum—either they accept the peace plan or there will be intervention. It therefore is realistic to expect them to abide by what [words indistinct].

[Crnjakovic] Crnjakovic, VJESNIK. Mr. Izetbegovic rejected the demand by the Bosnian Croats in Bosnia-Hercegovina to take command over armed units in the proposed Croatian provinces. Could you please, Mr. President, comment on this? I would like to ask another question. Serb rebel forces proclaimed mobilization in Knin and its surroundings on Sunday [17 January], because Croatian forces allegedly are preparing an attack on the areas under UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] control.

[Tudjman] In connection with Mr. Izetbegovic's statement rejecting the proposal of the Croatian Community of Herceg-Bosna, he should be asked this question: It is very interesting that he rejected such a proposal when the Croatian Community of Herceg-Bosna suggested—in my opinion very sensibly and in a totally unambiguous way—that all the forces of resistance to Serbian aggression deployed in those provinces which are designated to become Croat majority, Croat authority provinces, be placed under the command of the Croatian Defense Council [HVO]. Likewise, the Croats suggested that all forces of the HVO, Croatian formations be placed under the Muslims' command, under the armed forces of Bosnia-Hercegovina as they call them, although they are in fact Muslim forces, i.e. that Croatian formations be placed under the Muslims' leadership in those areas envisaged as Muslim majority provinces. It therefore is obvious that this is a matter of not accepting equitable relations.

As far as we, and I personally, are concerned, I said again at the latest meeting here with Izetbegovic and Boban in their capacity as representatives of the Muslim and Croatian peoples and in the presence of Lord Owen and Mr. Vance, cochairmen of the conference on the former Yugoslavia, I again appealed to both Mr. Izetbegovic and Mr. Boban to harmonize their stances and their efforts at resisting the aggression, to reach full unity. Unfortunately, as this statement makes clear, and as some unfortunate events suggest, this is still lacking. I believe, however, that they will raise the possibility that common sense will prevail.

In connection with your second question, that probably is happening as part of the state of turmoil among the Serbs. As you know, the leaders in Knin link their policy with [Serb] leaders in Bosnia, and of course, all of them link their policy with Belgrade. The crucial figures in Belgrade—Yugoslav President Cosic and Serbian President Milosevic—made statements distancing themselves from Karadzic's rejection, which then caused announcements that the blueprint of the Bosnia-Hercegovina constitutional organization would be accepted tomorrow. This gives a clear indication to the leaders in Knin that they should give up their separatist aspirations, and that is why they probably are trying to alarm their citizens and carrying out some kind of mobilization to show that they are under a threat.

At the same time, as is well known, Croatia is offering them a political solution. Croatia is offering amnesty to those who took part in the rebellion because they were deceived. Croatia is offering them the chance to elect their local representatives in accordance with the constitutional law on civil and ethnic rights of national minorities and ethnic communities. [Words indistinct] they want to cause anxiety among people, they want to mobilize them. Obviously, such a policy does not lead to a solution, and they will have to give in. They were given clear indications that they are in sovereign Croatia, within its internationally recognized borders, and they will have no other option but to accept that.

Otherwise, as has happened in some areas, individuals who do not accept the political solution can leave these areas. I am convinced that most of the Serbian population will pledge their loyalty to Croatia if they want to accept it as their homeland and stay.

[Correspondent] Mr. President, could you please comment on [Deputy Foreign Minister] Zuzul's statement that Croatia is against lifting the arms embargo on Bosnia-Hercegovina.

[Tudjman] I am not familiar with the entire statement, but it probably should be understood in the same sense as my opinion that we would be against lifting the embargo if the international community does not at the same time take resolute steps to stop the aggression. The lifting of the embargo alone would only mean the continuation of the war, and also the continuation of the war in unequal circumstances. If the embargo against Bosnia-Hercegovina and Croatia were lifted—because Bosnia-Hercegovina can obtain arms only via Croatia—it would take a long time for the Bosnia-Hercegovina forces to became equal to, let alone to overpower the forces of the former Yugo-communist, now Serbian army, which [words indistinct] in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Therefore, only lifting the embargo would mean a further prolongation of the war, further destruction of Bosnia-Hercegovina, and further threats to Croatia.

From our standpoint, the lifting of the embargo is not a solution. The solution is a resolute action on the part of the international community—an imperative demand to the Bosnian Serbs and to Belgrade to accept a peaceful solution and to end the war. The lifting of the embargo would be worthwhile, however, if military intervention by the international community became necessary and if Belgrade and Serb circles do not accept a peaceful solution.

[Correspondent] Mr. President, could you tell whether you [words indistinct], I am referring particularly to the UPI agency. Following your address yesterday, their conclusion was that Croatia's policy is shifting, that it is abandoning its alliance with Muslim forces and the Muslim side, and that it is getting increasingly close to the Serbian side. Your comment please.

[Tudjman] I do not know what made them draw that conclusion. We were in favor of condemning the aggression. We also are in favor of taking war criminals to an international tribunal. We are in favor of putting an end to the war. We were and still are in favor of an alliance between the Croatian and Muslim peoples in Bosnia-Hercegovina against the aggression. We, as the state of Croatia, have signed an agreement with the president of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency. It is only Croatia that has dispatched its ambassador, it is only the Croatian ambassador who has presented his credentials in Bosnia-Hercegovina. He is the first and so far only ambassador to Bosnia-Hercegovina. Consequently, we are in favor of cooperation with the Muslims. We are, however, in favor of a cooperation that will guarantee the existence and future of the Croatian people in Bosnia-Hercegovina. This also is a matter of vital interest to the Croatian state.

I also have said that it is unrealistic to expect the unarmed Muslim and Croatian people in Bosnia-Hercegovina to pursue their policies solely with the aim of bringing a violent end to the crisis in Bosnia-Hercegovina, because this would prolong the war indefinitely, not only by months but by years. Hence, in addition to determined resistance to the aggression, one also should seek a political solution. There is another historical program behind this—there will be, and there can be, no peace, no lasting peace, no stable international order, on the soil of the former Yugoslavia, of southeast Europe and the Balkans as long as there is no normalization of relations between the independent and sovereign state of Croatia and Serbia and its Yugoslavia. Croatia and Serbia are state entities, and the Serbian and Croatian peoples are the two oldest peoples on that soil.

As long as imperialist ambitions are not abandoned, until reason prevails, until these peoples realize that it is in their interest as well as in the interest of peace in this area and Europe and even in the world, as one can see many global conflicts piling up here, there consequently can be no mention of stability as long as there is no normalization of relations here. In this sense I favor normalization of relations between Croatia, an internationally recognized country, and Serbia and their Yugoslavia if they have it.

I also want to point out something that I wrote about 20 years ago: I believe that the senselessness on this soil will exhaust itself and that eventually a Scandinavization, as I put it, of southeast Europe, the Balkans, must take place. In this context, relations between Serbia and Croatia must emerge like those between France and Germany within the EC. [passage omitted]

Regardless of the fact that between independent and sovereign Croatia and Serbia there will be no love for a long, long time, the restoration of normal relations is necessary for the normal development of their peoples and for the international order. In this sense I wanted to explain my statement.

[Tudjen] Branko Tudjen, VECERNJI LIST. I also would like to refer to a foreign source, today's issue of DIE PRESSE of Vienna. There is nothing new about it, but they nevertheless accuse the Croatian authorities of—I will use the word—persecuting intellectuals. This is the first point. [passage omitted] The second point in this context, or outside this context, is a meeting of 17 Croats from the diaspora in London, their statement, the Croats who otherwise are in a way active in Croatia's political life, at least some of them. Why are they organizing themselves in London?

[Tudjman, laughing] As far as your first question is concerned about intellectuals being persecuted, or if we put it mildly, it boils down to the current Croatian authorities not having good relations with intellectuals. This is at the very least ludicrous. In the state administration, in the government, at the top levels of both the state administration and the army, not to mention the diplomatic service, there is proportionately a larger number of intellectuals representing all layers of intellectual life, ranging from university to others, than in any other independent country. And also among the deputies and the members of the government and, as I have said, elsewhere. According to an analysis of our diplomatic missions set up so far, the educational, intellectual level of the Croatian diplomatic service is higher than that of some old democratic states. Consequently, we have a large number of university lecturers, academicians among our ranks.

Ladies and gentlemen, I can tell you there are and there were university professors among the ranks of the Croatian Army who have been given very prominent roles not only in resolving technological, technical, and other intellectual problems. They even joined the ranks of fighters in very sensitive operations. Hence, these stories emanate from those ranks who have been called Pharisees since biblical times, who have not understood anything, who have reasoned by their own standards or by the standards of the confined circles of people they meet, who have no trust in their own people and consequently no trust in the intellectual caste.

This democratic Croatia was established on the basis of involving all classes, including the intellectual one. This is why the democratic system that has been established in Croatia has the broadest basis. It is the stablest system among all those countries which are emerging from the socialist system. It simply is ridiculous that there still are individuals who repeat such slander. Such criticism, such remarks emanate from those who notionally are intellectuals but who served the old communist regime, both the communist and Yugoslav unitarist regime, who in today's democracy have an opportunity to air such totally groundless theories.

As far as the second question is concerned, it is very interesting, this phenomenon, that a group of intellectuals has emerged. Some even have asked me whether this is a Croatian government in exile or a shadow government. It is very interesting that at a time when the Croatian people's 1,000-year-old dream—let them not tell me again that I use a hollow phrase—has come true, when it at last has obtained its sovereign state, moreover a democratic state, a democratic system that could not have been subjected to any remarks about the elections even by those who are most fiercely opposed to a sovereign Croatia, that suddenly there arises a group of people who did not, at least not actively, participate in the efforts and ambitions to establish democratic authorities. Nor did they participate in the efforts to fight the homeland war of defense which we were subjected to. In other words, once Croatia has weathered all this, once it has not only survived but won its position in the world community of free nations, there arises a group of people who want to tell us what kind of country Croatia should be.

I believe that this is a remnant of certain ambitions of those who wanted some other authorities in Croatia. There were such ambitions, especially until the second elections we had last August. There were statements, as you have witnessed, by candidates to the effect that all—I do not know what they said—embassies supported them. There also were ambitions to set up a congress of sorts in Croatia and also some kind of all-Croat congress of the Croatian diaspora. These therefore are attempts by some people who obviously are not aware of the miracle we performed in establishing a sovereign Croatia and who, instead of joining as individuals the building of this Croatia, are trying to organize some forces in defiance of the democratic forces who established a democratic system in Croatia and who helped bring international recognition to sovereign Croatia. [passage omitted]

[Ursic] Darko Ursic of KLEINE ZEITUNG. Mr. President, will Croatia, under certain conditions, be prepared to extend the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] mandate, if, for instance, UNPROFOR's powers are to be enhanced, or specifically, if they are allowed to disarm chetnik formations and to raise the level of their activity in the area? Would Croatia be prepared under these conditions to extend the UNPROFOR mandate?

[Tudjman] We gave a go-ahead for the involvement of the peace forces in order to end the war in Croatia and to prevent further destruction and casualties. We will continue to conduct the kind of policy which, if possible, will help us to avoid a single drop of blood being shed, let alone casualties. It goes without saying, however, that we no longer will put up with the occupation of a part of Croatian territory. UNPROFOR has carried out its first, but not its second task. Serb armed formations have not been disarmed, and conditions have not been created for the return of displaced persons or for normalizing traffic and introducing our overall economic and legal system throughout Croatian territory. In other words, we can talk about extending the UNPROFOR mandate provided UNPROFOR begins to carry out its tasks effectively. [passage omitted]

[Saric] Mirjana Saric of HINA. Mr. President, on your return from Geneva you said that there existed a draft agreement on normalizing relations between Serbia and Yugoslavia. [as heard] Can you tell us a bit more about it, or rather about the key points of that agreement?

[Tudjman] What you refer to was a draft proposal for normalizing our relations. It proceeded from the fact that Serbia and Yugoslavia....[pauses] from the need for mutual recognition, in other words, of Serbia and Yugoslavia recognizing Croatia within its internationally recognized borders, and also referred to the process of normalizing our future relations. This, clearly, implies a peaceful resolution of all the problems, primarily those from Knin to Baranja.

Both Mr. Cosic and Mr. Milosevic spoke in favor, in principle, of normalizing relations; both said that they had no territorial claims against Croatia, that they had shown this by withdrawing the Yugo-army from the area south of Dubrovnik, from Prevlaka, and that they were in favor of resolving all issues by political means.

I stressed to them that we favor normalizing relations. We need normalization to resolve by peaceful means the problem of UNPROFOR zones, but I think that under present circumstances the Serbs need normalization even more. In the end history teaches us that eventually some kind of agreement must be reached after any war and despite all the hostilities.

Allow me to say in this context that both in Croatia and abroad there are people who say: Yes, but a lasting peace and an agreement can be reached only after the opponent has been defeated militarily. This is true, but if Croatia had the capability to defeat the opponent, where should this defeat be inflicted: in Bosnia where his main forces are—and if this can be done so that a lasting peace can be guaranteed, we would be in favor of such a solution.

In view of the fact that the Croatian people in Bosnia-Hercegovina, with help from Croatia, only just succeeded in defending their areas, albeit with big sacrifices, and thus saving Bosnia from falling into the hands of a greater Serbia or Yugoslavia, however, it becomes clear that it is in the interests of both the Croatian people in

Bosnia-Hercegovina and of Croatia itself to ensure that the war ends and that the relations are normalized as soon as possible, not just because of us but because of Europe and the world, so that differences between the Islamic world and Christianity, between Bolshevik Russia as it was in the past and the Orthodox Russia as it is today and Western Europe do not sharpen in this space. All factors in the crisis indicate that efforts must be invested to establish peace as soon as possible.

[Correspondent] If it signs a new agreement with UNPROFOR, Croatia will sign it for the first time as an independent and sovereign state, since the existing agreement was signed by Yugoslavia. In that case, will the new agreement contain deadlines by which the peace forces will be expected to resolve problems, and will it outline concrete provisions, such as if the main Zagreb-Belgrade highway is to be unblocked, where will the border between Croatia and Yugoslavia run? I will not ask about the Maslenica bridge as others already have done that. My second question refers to the coming elections. You, Mr. President, are your party's leading candidate. What do you expect of the elections and can you tell us about the talks among political parties about jointly contesting elections in Istria?

[Tudjman] As far as your first question is concerned, of course, if the UNPROFOR mandate is extended, a new agreement or treaty will have to envisage both the time and tasks and the purpose of their stay here. You correctly have noted that the first agreement was reached between not just Croatia and the United Nations, but primarily with Yugoslavia, which at that time was internationally recognized. In other words, there will be no uncertainty over this. [passage omitted]

Tudjman Discusses Upcoming Elections

LD1801045593 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 17 Jan 93

[Excerpts] At a session of the Croatian Democratic Community [HDZ] Executive Board held today at the Globus Hall in Zagreb, the HDZ's election platform was adopted. The session was presided over by President Franjo Tudjman.

Tudjman said the decision to hold elections for the Chamber of Counties is of great importance for Croatia. Tudjman said that by this act we will finalize the democratic structure of Croatian authority and establish local self-government and that we are duty-bound by the Constitution to embark on this work. In this way we are going to sever all links with the old socialist system and get a new administration that will be efficient in resolving all the problems facing our country, President Tudjman said. We faced the nearly disastrous suggestion that Croatia should be divided into regions, something that amounts to a continuation of the historic division of the Croatian state imposed on it by various foreign imperialists so they could take control of Croatia more easily. While regarding such suggestions as leading to disintegration, Tudjman stressed that through counties we will preserve historical cultural entities along the lines of European and Croatian traditions since we had such counties in the Banovina of Croatia [historical term for Croatia when it was part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire]. [passage omitted]

President Tudjman recalled Croatia's position in the wake of its second multiparty elections, stressing that the results testified to the consolidation of the democratic system and democratic authorities under HDZ leadership. Until these elections, he went on to say, some very influential European and world factors wanted the victory of some other authorities in Croatia. The presidential and parliamentary elections convinced these people, however, that these authorities had been elected in a democratic way and that Croatia is one of the most stable countries emerging from the socialist system and that it has demonstrated its vitality despite the horrors of war.

Let us not delude ourselves, the HDZ president added, since those political circles who opposed Croatia's independence and sovereignty and opposed its victory in the war imposed on it are still putting forward various suggestions and offer cooperation as they want to see some other authorities at the helm of Croatia, which they could control and return Croatia into the framework of some new Yugoslavia. As an illustration of these, Tudjman mentioned the continuation of the campaign waged by some parts of the press and the suggestions of a group of intellectuals who are offering an alternative to the current policy—a sort of shadow cabinet.

In this context he stressed that as far as state politics and the interests of the Croatian state are concerned, we must by all accounts bear this in mind. Concluding that they cannot call Croatia's policies into question, he nevertheless warned that they could be active in some other areas. In this context Tudjman also mentioned the intention of about 970 cultural and scientific workers to hold a congress with the theme "What Kind of Croatia Do We Want," saying that is something to be contemplated by everyone, but most of all by those who have led Croatia to its independence and sovereignty, as opposed to those who opposed this or who were absent. President Tudjman also mentioned the proposal that an all-Croatian world assembly be convened as well as a meeting in Budapest that was to set up a Croatian community of European countries that would also include representatives of the Croatian people from Bosnia-Hercegovina by concluding: I am in favor of Croatdom being organized outside party confines just as the Jews and Irish did, but not without the HDZ's power, which initiated this historic work and has to continue it.

We must be aware that the struggle in and around Croatia is still raging despite international recognition. Within the party we have to organize ourselves well regarding such activities, to modernize our programs so we can develop own policies on the victories we have won. Likewise, we must not rest on the laurels of these victories.

On the eve of the elections, Tudjman cautioned the members of the HDZ Executive Board that they ought to prepare their program and cadre formation as well as possible so we can continue to be up to our historic mission. I do not doubt in the least that we will accomplish this, Tudjman concluded. In his words, special attention should be paid to the situation in Istria in order to enable Croatian forces to win the forthcoming elections, something they failed to do August. On this occasion he mentioned the destruction of the Croatian bird in Istria, which was maliciously commented on by Pula Radio, which said the Croatian bird flies best as well as the offensive and vulgar fax messages sent to the Croatian Government from Istria. He maintains that in Istria all Croatian forces should be united through wide-ranging political activity and that one should demonstrate the resolve and firmness of Croatia's state policies as well as redress all the mistakes that even the party itself committed in Istria.

Let us understand the elections to the Chamber of Counties as a very responsible political task as is the completion of the HDZ program for the system of democratic authorities, Tudjman stressed, and he went on to say that success is beyond doubt. [passage omitted]

Tudjman Assesses Events of Past Year

AU1501102893 Zagreb NOVI VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 3 Jan 93 First Edition pp 4, 5

[HINA-attributed "text" of Tudjman's New Year's message to the nation; place and date not given: "A New Step Toward a Happy Croatia"]

[Text] Zagreb—The President of the Republic Franjo Tudjman addressed a message to the people on New Year's Eve. We are carrying the complete text of this message:

Croats at home and abroad, citizens of the Republic of Croatia!

At the end of 1992, we are saying goodbye to a stormy and difficult year, but one that for Croatia and its history can be said to have been an important and glorious one. To assess this year accurately we must try and remember what preceded it in 1991.

Regarding 1991, we need only to remember that toward the end of that year, Croatia was faced with mortal danger to its newly established democratic government because it had dared to announce its independence along with liberty.

The Year of International Recognition

Aside from the aggression carried out by the Yugo-communist army, Serbia and Montenegro, the country was threatened by domestic and international opponents of an independent Croatia with all kinds of attempts to decapitate it, bring it to its knees and stuff it back into the old framework. In European and international diplomatic and military headquarters hardly anyone counted on the fact that Croatia could survive. When, much to the surprise and admiration of the whole world, Croatia survived all the war and political temptations, it steadily began to gain the trust and recognition of the democratic world. It managed to do this thanks to its sound and far-sighted policy, political maturity and the efforts and sacrifices of its people.

With the truce declared at the very beginning of the year and the deployment of UN Peace Forces in the areas occupied by the Yugoslav Army and the Serbian rebel formations - we managed to stop the war that had been waged not only to cause the collapse of the independent and democratic Croatia and to conquer her territory, but to reinstate the communist Yugoslavia. By stopping the war we prevented the total destruction of the country and saved the Croatian people from even greater sacrifices. We also created conditions for the strengthening of the newly established democratic order and Croatia's international position.

After this, the process of Croatia's international recognition quickened. In 1991, after declaring its independence (25 June), Croatia was initially recognized by only two countries: Slovenia and Lithuania; in December they were joined by the Ukraine, Latvia, Estonia, Iceland, and Germany. At the beginning of 1992, Croatia was recognized by the Holy See (13 January), San Marino, and Austria. After the EC countries (15 January) and the United States (6 April) recognized Croatia's sovereignty, they were followed by the majority of countries in the world.

When it was accepted into the United Nations on 22 May 1992, Croatia was finally recognized, for the first time in its written history, to be a free, independent, and sovereign state of the free world! On 8 July 1992 it was accepted into the CSCE, which was also of paramount significance. At the same time, the process of erasing the name of the former Yugoslavia from international institutions drew to a close. By becoming a member of the United Nations and the CSCE, Croatia acquired all the rights of sovereign and independent states, including the right to protection by the United Nations, but it also gained the responsibility to conduct its policy according to the UN Charter and to build its internal order in accordance with democratic and antifascist principles on which the contemporary international and European world order is based.

A Shining International Reputation

To this day, Croatia has been recognized by 96 sovereign states. We have managed to establish diplomatic relations with 62 countries, not counting the EC and the United Nations, and we are in the process of establishing relations with another 10. So far, Croatia has established 33 embassies and consulates throughout the world and is in the process of opening another 13. At the moment there are 27 accredited ambassadors in Croatia, among whom are the representatives of all the leading international countries.

In addition to its diplomatic recognition, Croatia's international position, its integration into the world and its internal development are conditioned by acceptance into leading financial institutions (IMF, World Bank, European Development Bank).

Witness to Croatia's reputation and to the understanding for its position and problems is the Resolution of the UN General Assembly, dated 18 December 1992, which bears the title "International Cooperation and Aid for Relieving Consequences of War in Croatia and Aiding Its Renewal," that is addressed to all its agencies and member countries.

In the past year, Croatia has found itself in a very sensitive position and has faced huge internal and international difficulties regarding the escalating war in Bosnia-Hercegovina. After being successfully resisted in Croatia, the Yugoslav Army, Serbia, and Montenegro turned their aggression on Bosnia-Hercegovina. The first objective seems to have been the annexing of the entire republic to the territory of greater Serbia, that is, to Yugoslavia. It was only after this proved impossible that the Army disguised itself as the army of the so-called Serbian Republic [of Bosnia-Hercegovina], and started to conquer and ethnically cleanse huge areas of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Policy of Sober Evaluation

During this time Croatia was constantly in a very uncomfortable position; you could even say it was doubly trapped. Because of the fact that it helped organize the armed forces of the Croatian Defense Council of Herceg-Bosnia, there were attempts to accuse Croatia of being the aggressor in Bosnia-Hercegovina, of identifying it with Serbia. At one point, this reached such proportions that even in the United Nations there were threats about stretching the sanctions to include Croatia. Namely, the international factors in whose eyes Croatia was the principal party responsible for the breakup of Yugoslavia, a country they wanted to keep together regardless of the price, were looking for a reason to punish Croatia, forgetting all the while that it was Croatia who had proposed a confederacy to solve the Yugoslav crises, so that it was not responsible for all the evil and the war, but rather that the relentless pan-Serbian hegemonic and imperialistic policy was to blame. On the other side there were and still are opinions that Croatia is leading an allegedly "harmful" policy of "splitting Bosnia with Serbia".

Because of the Serbian aggression and volunteers fighting on both the Muslim and Serbian side, the crisis and the settling of accounts in Bosnia-Hercegovina has reached such appalling proportions and caused international intrigues that there is a danger of the war spreading, and because the outcome of the Bosnian crisis can affect not only the entire Croatian nation but also its newly established sovereign state, it is necessary to explain in detail the viewpoints of current Croatian state policy.

In the case of Bosnia-Hercegovina, we are basing our policy on the same principles as the ones on which we created the sovereign and internationally recognized Croatia. We define the goals of Croatian policy through sober evaluation of the actual circumstances under given historical conditions. First, we evaluate the actual ratio of power in Croatian-Serbian-Muslim confrontations and then the possible influence of the most important and at first glance not so important international factors.

Taking these evaluations as a starting point and constantly keeping in mind not only Croatia's vital interests, but also the interests of the international community when it comes to establishing peace and a stable international order, we believe that the Bosnian crisis has to be resolved through an agreement between the three constitutive peoples there. The intranational differences in Bosnia-Hercegovina because of aggression and all the horrors of this war, have reached the ultimate point of mutual hatred and exclusiveness. This state of affairs is a lot worse and less bearable than the one in the former Yugoslavia prior to the breakup. At this point, the solution for ending the fighting and for future coexistence on this territory is an agreement that will define such a confederal, constitutional, and legal system and divide the territory into provinces that will satisfy all three parties.

The Croatian people in Bosnia-Hercegovina, politically and militarily organized in the Croatian Community of Herceg-Bosnia, see such an agreement as the only way to secure their future in Bosnia-Hercegovina and as a way to maintain their ties to their people in the mother country. On its part, the Republic of Croatia is extremely interested in this solution to the Bosnian crisis because its immediate effect will be peace, which will in turn establish conditions for a normalization of relations between the three now hostile peoples.

The continuation of the war in Bosnia-Hercegovina might ultimately threaten world peace, and it would cause more death and destruction in Croatian areas. In addition to this, there would be new waves of refugees that are already causing Croatia countless difficulties. Moreover, as long as the crisis in Bosnia remains unsolved, Croatia cannot hope to end the consequences of war on her territory, which means the return of exiles and the return of UN Protected Areas into its legal, constitutional, transportation, and economic systems. These are all reasons why Croatia is eagerly supporting the efforts of the EC, the United Nations and their conference on the former Yugoslavia (and especially the personal efforts of UN Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali and those of the conference's cochairmen, Vance and Owen) to accelerate the cessation of hostilities and to establish conditions for lasting peace on the whole territory of the former Yugoslavia.

In the past year, the most important events on Croatia's internal political scene were the first presidential elections and the parliamentary elections for the parliament's House of Representatives [Zastupnicki dom hrvatskog Sabora], held on 2 August. These were the first elections in our new, independent, and sovereign state held in accordance with the new Constitution. Numerous monitors of the Council of Europe's official delegations and those of many democratic countries were unanimous in their opinion that the elections had been held in an atmosphere of absolute order; there were no complaints.

At the end of this year, the Croatian Government and the House of Representatives completed an extensive and important task by preparing the legal regulations that will enable us to finish organizing the government administration and local self-management in accordance with the Constitution. When solving the complex problem of the division into districts [zupanija] and municipalities we started out to:

1. Secure the effectiveness and uniformity of the state administration in all parts of Croatia that have in the course of history been divided and disunited and are now for the first time united in their independent and sovereign state; this disunity reflected itself in different aspects of autonomist politics and regionalism;

2. Maximally respect the districts' [zupanija] authority and their historical, political, and cultural traditions, but also their present economic and transportation needs;

3. Painlessly and rationally coordinate all the components of the state administration: government, legal, military, economic, and social institutions;

4. In the organizing of the municipalities we discard all the negative heritage of communist communes that was an aspect of the so-called socialist self-management;

That is why, in municipal self-management and administration, we are going back to European and our local traditions. As far as the number and size of the municipalities is concerned, they are going to be the same as the ones in the Banovina of Croatia [historical Croatian district within the Austro-Hungarian Empire].

Serious Tasks

One of the most important tasks that awaits us at the very start of 1993 are the elections for the Parliament's House of Districts [Zupanijski dom Sabora], for the district [zupanija] assemblies and municipal councils. This has to be done to get rid of the vestiges of the socialist state administration and to finish organizing the new democratic administration. After it is done, we can begin solving the problems that lie ahead. Understandably, among all the tasks, the primary one is the reintegration of the whole territory into the constitutional and legal system. We are going to take wise, but resolute steps to reintegrate all the areas seized by the Serbian rebels. We believe that we will be assisted by the UN Peace Forces, because, after all, that is the purpose of their mandate.

For their part, the democratic Croatian authorities have satisfied and are offering all the requirements necessary for the normalization of life in general: the Constitutional Law on Ethnic Communities and Minority Rights, we have offered to refrain from legal prosecution and to pardon those already sentenced; now we are calling the Serbian population to participate in the elections for the Parliament's House of Districts, for the districts [zupanija] and for their local self-management. We expect that in the ranks of the Serbian population, the wisdom of those who wish to remain Croatian citizens will finally prevail.

However, the resolute halt to all incidents of aggression, corruption, loan-sharking, robbery, inhuman and bureaucratic treatment of citizens is the responsibility of the entire state administration, the legal administration, the local self-management, and last but not least of the entire population. The institution of the People's Attorney will play an important role in this. He will be elected by the Croatian Parliament for the first time according to a regulation (Article 93) of the Constitution. He will be authorized by the Parliament to "defend the constitutional and legal rights of citizens in legal proceedings before the state administration and those bodies that have public authority."

A New Legal System

To ensure the effectiveness of all the institutions of the state and public administrations, the government and the Parliament will, in the course of the first few months of the year, define a new legal system, that should help get rid of all the remnants of bolshevik socialism and the bureaucracy that went with it. In the economic sphere we must speed up the process of transformation of the public-owned property. In our case this process was slowed down by the war, and anyway, it is such a complex problem that other countries have not had more, or have had just a little more success than we in dealing with this problem. Moreover, the fact that we already have more than 70,000 privately-owned companies, many of which are developing their own industrial production, is proof of the fact that we are headed in the right direction.

Another important task is the implementation of a stabilization program that should curb inflation and make it possible for us to introduce a new Croatian convertible currency by the end of the year. By improving the tax and tariff systems, by introducing relief and concessions, especially for returning expatriates and other of our citizens from abroad, we are going to boost private enterprise and foreign investments. This will, in turn, mean more investment and public utility projects and a rise in employment.

At the end of this hard but glorious year, I wish to thank the Croatian people and all Croatian citizens who have realized their centuries-old dream of having their own country and the compatriots and benefactors throughout the world who have made it easier for Croatia and her people to bear the heavy load of aggression, war, and refugees. Their help was crucial in ensuring that in the war-torn and exhausted country there was always enough food and clothing for everyone. Now that the international community is showing readiness to help alleviate the consequences of war in Croatia and to help in reviving the economy, conditions for the return of larger numbers of expatriates in the course of the new year are maturing. They can also invest in their Croatian fatherland.

Dear compatriots and fellow citizens, I wish all of you a happy New Year, along with a lot of luck, peace, success, and fulfillment in your work and personal life. I trust that in the new year we will make another great stride toward that ideal of a free, independent, wealthy, and happy Croatia that we all carry in our hearts. By installing Croatia among the independent, free, and sovereign states, we have proved that through our efforts, we can realize this ideal.

Therefore, have faith in a successful 1993! May it be happy and blessed for all of us!

[Box, p 5]

An Interest in the Fate of Bosnia-Hercegovina

Croatia is understandably very interested in the fate of Bosnia-Hercegovina, not only for historical reasons or because a significant part of the Croatian people live there, but because of geopolitical and strategic reasons. Namely, from Bosnia-Hercegovina it is possible to threaten the entire southern part of Dalmatia including Dubrovnik. We influenced the development of cooperation between the Muslim and Croatian representatives, we wanted the Croatian people to take part in the referendum for the independence of Bosnia-Hercegovina. Croatia was the first country to recognize the sovereignty of Bosnia-Hercegovina, and our ambassador was the first and so far the only ambassador to submit his credentials to Bosnia-Hercegovina. In addition to this, I have signed an agreement with the President of the Presidency, Mr. Izetbegovic, about cooperation, including military cooperation in the joint defense of border areas. Croatia took in more than half a million Bosnian refugees, 80 percent of them Muslims, and it helped a significant number to go to other countries.

On the basis of these facts, the delegations of Islamic countries, after visiting Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina, and after the conference of these countries in Istanbul and Jeddah, acknowledged Croatia for helping Bosnia-Hercegovina and the Muslim refugees. Speaking of Bosnia, it is necessary to keep certain important facts in mind. Croatia helped the most in preventing Bosnia-Hercegovina from "silently falling" prey to pan-Serbian plans. Since Bosnia was not prepared for the aggression that overtook it, the Croatian people could rely only on Croatia and its emigrants in defending their territory. That is why Croatia lent all the help it could in the way of organization, equipment and defense of the Croatian Community of Herceg-Bosnia.

Political Maturity

The electoral results have shown the political maturity of the Croatian people and the citizens of the Republic of Croatia. This was evident in the fact that the extreme right in Croatia, with the symbols from World War II, revealed itself to be a marginal political current at a time when pro-fascist parties in other countries are getting two and three times the percentage of votes. The elections confirmed the stability of the new democratic government, helped to further secure the constitutional and legal system in internal political life, but even more to secure Croatia's reputation and its international position in every respect. Those international factors that were not in favor of an independent Croatia, or that for some reason wanted a coalition or a more appropriate party government for implementing their policy, were forced to reverse their judgment and policy. This led to new appraisals: The democratic order in Croatia is one of the most stable of all when compared to other countries that are emerging from a socialist system, and because of this, and especially because of its geopolitical position, Croatia will be one of the most prosperous countries. This is reflected in the increasing interest of countries throughout the world, from East and West Europe to the Middle East, and from China, the United States to South America.

We Must Equip Our Army

In the next year we have serious tasks before us regarding the development, equipping and training of our defense forces and security services. In the past year, to defend ourselves from aggression, we had to have about 200,000 people under arms. Through two demobilizations, we have managed to significantly decrease this number, but the armed forces, because of the uncertainty of a kind of state of war, are still, unfortunately, a great strain on the state budget.

Depending on circumstances, we are going to go on decreasing this number, but we cannot count on significantly relieving the state budget because we have to equip the Croatian Army with modern technology.

In addition to this, we have to train the security services, including the financial police, so that they are capable of efficiently dealing with all transgressions of the legal system.

Tudjman Calls for Recapture of Croat Territory

LD1701014093 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 16 Jan 93

[Excerpts] On his arrival in Osijek, President Franjo Tudjman held talks with the highest town officials and officers of the Croatian Army's Osijek operations zone at the municipal assembly building. [passage omitted]

Branimir Glavas, president of the Osijek Executive Council, spoke.

[Begin Glavas recording] Today we are opening a bridge; a bridge over which evicted people will return to their homes. We are opening the bridge today, and if it does not work in a peaceful, political way, it is certain that our supreme commander, Franjo Tudjman, when he finds an opportune moment, will order hundreds of tanks to cross to the Baranja area! The tanks will win us back every last foot of occupied territory! That is why we can tell those on the other side that they still have enough time to become sensible and reasonable! They should take all the benefits offered by the Croatian Government; they should turn against the handful of road bandits and war criminals—such as Hadzic [Republic of Serbian Krajina president], Babic [Serbian Democratic Party president] , and I don't know who else—who have soaked in Croatian blood! They should overthrow and arrest them! Then we can talk about a peaceful solution to the problem! [end recording]

The beginning of work on a new bridge is a sign that we want to establish the authority of the Croatian state on every foot of its territory, Franjo Tudjman said at the beginning of his speech.

[Begin Tudjman recording] We could not defend every foot of territory, but we defended three-quarters of Croatia; we actually liberated three-quarters of Croatia. We made possible the creation of our own army to defend Osijek and Vinkovci, which the Yugo-communist and Serbian soldiers wanted to conquer. We created conditions not only to save Croatia, but also to make it capable of liberating Dubrovnik and Prevlaka! With the assistance of the peace forces, we preserved other areas, in order to liberate them tomorrow—with the assistance of the peace forces—in a peaceful way if it is possible, but if it is necessary, to liberate them with our army! [crowd cheers]

And then, when the Croatian men—the unarmed ones and the ones in the army that we were just creating then—were fighting in Aljmas, Dalj, Vukovar, Tenja, in Baranja; when we were fighting to keep Osijek and Vinkovci; then as well, all of Croatia, every single man, stood behind you. If the whole of Croatia had not stood behind you, obviously, we would not have been able to stand our ground here in Osijek or anywhere in Croatia!

In this critical historic period we managed to unite the Croatian nation—the entire Croatian nation in all parts of Croatia, from Baranja and eastern Slavonia to Dubrovnik, Istria, Medjimurje, and Zagorje—for that very reason of having united Croats at home and abroad, Croats of all classes and all ages—that is why we could win the war for our independent and sovereign Croatia. That is why we achieved international recognition! For the first time in history we achieved the international recognition of the independent, autonomous Croatia by the whole world! In addition to our determination to sacrifice ourselves for our freedom, we had the correct policy. We knew how to coordinate our national goals with the circumstances in Europe and the world. [end recording]

Nobody believed that the Croatian nation would manage to mount successful resistance to one of the most powerful armies in Europe, but with huge sacrifices, we managed to do it and thus write our name in golden letters in the book of world history, Tudjman said.

[Begin Tudjman recording] In the same way, today, this spring, this year, we will conduct such a policy that if we can we will establish Croatia's constitutional and legal order in Aljmas. We will enter Aljmas, Vukovar, Baranja, Knin, Hrvatska Kostajnica. We will tread on every foot of Croatian territory! We will try to do it in a peaceful way, with the help of the United Nations to save victims. But if we need to, we will be capable of fresh sacrifices, because we know.... [applause] [Tudjman pauses] Have faith in the policy that has lead to the independent, autonomous state of Croatia with as few victims as possible! [end recording] [passage omitted]

Tudjman Reportedly 'Disagrees' With Muslims

LD1801161793 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1546 GMT 18 Jan 93

[Text] Belgrade, December 18 (TANJUG)—Croatia has officially admitted it disagrees with the Moslem leadership in the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

At the Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ) leadership session, Croatia's President Franjo Tudjman said that the Moslem leaders wanted to fight the war until the end, while Croatia was oriented towards peace, Croatian Radio reported on Monday [18 January].

"Different political orientations" lie in the basis of the dispute between Croats and Moslems in Bosnia.

"Croatia thinks aggression should cease and the aggressor be punished but, at the same time is aware that Bosnian Serbs and Yugoslavia cannot be beaten by military means," Tudjman said.

Political disagreement has deepened since the Geneva talks last week, and so has the military tension between Croats and Moslems in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Sefer Halilovic, the commander of Moslem forces loyal to Alija Izetbegovic, ordered his units in the provinces number 3, 8 and 10 not to put themselves under the command of the Croatian Defense Council (HVO—Bosnian Croats' units).

HVO had ordered Moslem units in these provinces either to put themselves under its command or to lay down arms.

According to the Geneva plan, provinces number 3 and 8 (western Hercegovina and northern Bosnia) should be Croat and province number 10—Croat-Moslem.

An ultimatum to Moslem units in Gornji Vakuf (province number 10) to leave the town or lay down arms expired at midnight Sunday. What ensued is still unknown. In Gornji Vakuf, where Moslems and Croats have been clashing for days, the situation has deteriorated again, Croatian Radio reported on Sunday night. Shooting can be heard in the town and one Croat has been killed, the radio said.

In his order to Moslem units, Halilovic used the word "extremists", which means that Croats and Moslems are principally in accord and that only individuals or small groups violate it.

Tudjman's statement, however, refutes Halilovic's explanation, making it obvious that the dispute has arisen not over certain neuralgic points, but over major political issues.

Latest events prove that Izetbegovic was abandoned at the Geneva talks and that his policy is increasingly loosing support both of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Croats and of Croatia.

Serb Leaders in Croatia Oppose Peace Plan

LD1601230493 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 16 Jan 93

[Text] The leaders of the so-called Republic of Serb Krajina [RSK] firmly refuse to accept the Geneva constitutional principles. In a statement for today's POLITIKA, Mile Paspalj, president of the so-called RSK Assembly, said that Bosnian Serbs will not give in to Catholic and Islamic pressure.

Krajina Reports Croat Army Mobilizing on Border

LD1701204593 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2029 GMT 17 Jan 93

[Text] Knin, Jan 17 (TANJUG)—The breakaway Yugoslav Republic of Croatia is mobilizing troops and concentrating them in areas along the border of the Republic of Serb Krajina (RSK), the headquarters of the RSK armed forces said on Sunday [17 January].

The Serbs proclaimed the RSK in 1991 in areas inside the administrative borders of Croatia where they are the majority population in protest over Croatia's secession from Yugoslavia and the degradation of their status in its new constitution from a nation to a national minority.

The RSK military command said that mobilization had already been completed of the Croatian Army's 112th Zadar Brigade and parts of the 141st and 142nd Brigades in Sibenik and Unisic, and the 126th Sinj Brigade. The 4th Split Brigade and command of the so-called South Combat Zone of the Croatian Army have also been moved to Zadar, the RSK command said.

The RSK command said that the objective of the activities was an aggression against the RSK towards the Maslenica bridge, the Zemunik airfield the Peruca hydro-electric power plant and dam, and Serb-populated areas around Vrlika and Drnis, which all lie in the Adriatic hinterland and are under the protection of U.N. peacekeepers.

The RSK authorities have already moved to counter the threat, among other things by implementing partial mobilization of the Army reserve.

The U.N. peacekeepers have been informed about the Croatian intention to attack areas under their control.

Defense Minister Receives Slovene Counterpart

LD1501224293 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 15 Jan 93

[Text] In the Defense Ministry today Croatian Defense Minister Gojko Susak received Slovene Defense Minister Janez Jansa and his deputy, Albino Gutman. Also present at the talks were General Janko Bobetko, chief of the General Staff [of the Croatian Armed Forces], and assistant ministers Colonel-General (administrative services) Ivan Cermak and Admiral Bozidar Grubisic.

Certain common problems were examined, with particular reference to cooperation and the organized solution of new problems that might arise and problems which are being experienced in the present circumstances. Issues were also considered concerning economic cooperation in the production of arms and equipment using domestic capacities which have not been utilized because of the war and existing capacities which are underutilized.

It was established that there are great possibilities of mutual interest with regard to the development of reciprocal use of capacities and economic potential as a whole. In view of the embargo on arms imports it is understandable that democratic states such as Slovenia and Croatia must consider their own defense. Both sides insist on good-neighborly relations and the effective solution of issues of mutual interest.

Looking at all these issues, they exchanged information and views which will be examined by teams of experts of both states and presented to their ministries as more permanent and long-term solutions.

The talks took place in a friendly atmosphere. Both sides expressed satisfaction with the results of the talks and the conclusions reached, and the desire to intensify cooperation. The Slovene defense minister invited Croatian Defense Minister Gojko Susak to pay a return visit. It was accepted with pleasure, the joint statement on today's talks says.

Mesic on Joint Croatian, Albanian Communique

LD1501161793 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 15 Jan 93

[Text] We have already reported that a delegation of the Croatian Assembly headed by Assembly Speaker Stjepan Mesic returned from Albania yesterday evening following a two-day visit. Today we received a statement on the joint Croatian-Albanian communique from the Government Press Office:

The statement says that meetings and talks with high-ranking officials of the Albanian parliament and government were used to exchange views on the situation in the Balkans, particularly on the war in Bosnia-Hercegovina and a danger of its spilling into Kosovo, which would have unforseeable consequences for the nations of the Balkans and Europe. Both sides concluded they had identical views on the halting of hostilities on the territory of former Yugoslavia. It was noted that the international community ought to exercise a stronger pressure over the Serbian communist and chauvinist policy and also that it is necessary to continue with negotiations for an effective resolution to the crisis to be found and peace restored.

Expressing their mutual wish for an increase in economic and cultural cooperation between Croatia and Albania the two sides also exchanged views and gave concrete proposals for a considerable investment in tourism, the increase of export and import, the creation of joint companies in the sphere of researching and production of oil and gas, the production of metals and nonmetals, and also in the sphere of transport.

Today's statement also stresses that Albanians in Croatia are a factor for friendship and a bridge linking the cultures of the two nations. An invitation was accepted that Albanian parliament Speaker Pjeter Arnbori will pay a visit to Croatia with a parliamentary delegation.

National-Democratic League Holds First Meeting

AU1901113893 Zagreb NOVI VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 10 Jan 93 First Edition p 5

[Report by Gordana Grgas: "Against 'Liberal Adornments'"]

[Text] Zagreb—"We are the people who care about where Croatia is going, how the liberation war is going to end, and if Croatia is following the path of South American countries, or the path of democracy. We feel and study the Croatian situation, and are aware that the creation of independent, sovereign, and democratic Croatia is not finished yet," said Bosiljko Misetic, one of the founders of the Croatian National-Democratic League [HNDL], on Saturday [9 January] at the party's inaugural meeting in Zagreb. The reasons for launching the party were "war consequences, the danger of renewed war, the situation in Bosnia-Hercegovina, negative economic factors, unbearable social circumstances and their possible consequences, the preservation of the Croatian cultural heritage, and an increase in crime, particularly in the form of plundering state property." The HNDL was presented as "a conservative party with a national platform", with an emphasis on "strong state government". Explaining the party's views, Ivan Vekic who is also one of the founders, spoke at the "Zagreb's Podium" forum on Kaptol Hill, and said that they would submit several initiatives very soon. These include a demand to re-establish the death sentence in Croatia, "so that war criminals like Ratko Mladic [Serbian army commander in Bosnia-Hercegovina] cannot stroll up and down the streets of Geneva with smiles on their faces," and a demand that stem grammar [korijenski pravopis] be taught in schools "because we do not speak our Croatian language properly any more." Vekic promised that the party would maintain the present policy on abortion, because the regeneration of the Croatian people is necessary. According to Vekic, the people who believe in the aggressors sincerity when he approves a peaceful measure, are naive, and he concluded that "we alone must decide our destiny," without waiting for the international community to help us. "If everything is allowed against Croatia, than everything is allowed for Croatia," Vekic said, and stressed that "Croatia does not exist without Croats." He expressed his determination to confront the numerous "liberal adornments" recently appearing throughout Croatia, with "less attractive, but genuine values." Misetic added that the HNDL was not a Nazi-style party, as some say, but a national party, and that Croatian nationalism, in all its positive aspects, ought to be acknowledged worldwide. Dobroslav Paraga, leader of the Croatian Rights Party, was also present at the meeting. He said that a platform such that of the HNDL revived "the faith and hope of Croats that they would defeat the enemy, and win their battle for democracy." [Box, p 5]

"The Supreme Council"

The Supreme Council of the HNDL is composed of 12 party founders. These are: Ivan Atalj (Zadar), Petar Badovinac (Zagreb), Zeljko Filicic (Dubrovnik), Miroslav Culjak (Osijek), Goran Magas (Split), Bosiljko Misetic (Zagreb), Ivan Pap (Samobor), Zlata Ribar (Jastrebarsko), Zlatko Tomicic (Zagreb), Ivan Vekic (Zagreb), and Andjelko Vrsaljko (Benkovac). The party's secretary general is Petar Badovinac. The founders met for the first time in December, and not by mere chance, in Senj, at the foot of Velebit Mountain. The message to the enemy is "to beware of Senj's tempest and the Croatian fist."

Husayn Seen as Political Survivor Over Bush

AU1801181293 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1430 GMT 18 Jan 93

[Edo Zitnik commentary]

[Text] Two years since the triumph of U.S. President Bush in the Gulf war, such that he should be inscribed in the chronicles of world politics with golden letters, it is becoming clear that time is passing in Baghdad more slowly than in Washington. On the eve of Bush's departure from the White House, there is no doubt at all that the great loser of all battles, Saddam Husayn, will politically survive the great winner. Moreover, it seems that he will manage to (?annul) the political capital of the Gulf war and therefore put President Bush down in history as a good tactician and a modest strategist. As long as Saddam Husayn is in power, the basic meaning of the Gulf wasr will be understandable to generals alone. There are in fact more and more of those people who are beginning to loudly look for a political mistake in the system that greatly calls into question not only the American mission in the Gulf, but also the so-called new world order after the end of the cold war in general.

With the resumption, that is, the continuation of the Gulf war, the United States—the generator of the UN and without which the palace on the East River would be but an inefficient bureaucratic mastodon—would bring about the failure of the only action that was formally carried out under the UN flag and hitherto considered to be successful. All the other actions, ranging from Cambodia, to Liberia, to Somalia, and certainly Bosnia-Hercegovina, are still open questions without a real answer. Judging from everything, this answer is not possessed by the only world superpower that has taken upon itself the role of world policeman. Now it cannot bear the burden or it is trying to bear it in a way that made political sense during the cold war but does not work any longer.

Even if we accept the thesis that the war in Iraq is above all the war of outgoing President Bush who is trying to redeem himself in history during the last days of his term, we still cannot ignore the symbolic fact that Saddam Husayn has already become a nightmare for U.S. President-elect Clinton, too. The president-elect has almost sworn that he will replace Bush's obsession with foreign policy and globalism by solving American internal problems and is even before inauguration in a situation in which he would have to at least adjust the ambitious internal political plans with foreign political ones. If he wants to fulfill at least a part of his election promises, he would have to leave at least some strings, in the Gulf as well, to the allies. He may thereby open an emergency exit for Saddam Husayn, and it would be no suprise if Husayn politically survived Bill Clinton.

Bank of Slovenia Issues New Bank Notes, Coins

93BA0443C Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 29 Dec 92 p 1

[Article by Miha Jenko: "The Tolar Will Jingle"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 29 Dec—The Bank of Slovenia [BS] put a new 20-tolar bank note into circulation today. The front of it has a picture of the historian Janez Vajkard Valvasor, and the back of it has an engraved vignette of two angels from his "Glory of the Kranj Duchy," who are carrying a ribbon with the inscription "Dulcis ex labore fructus" ("Sweet is the fruit of past work"). The bank note also has reproductions of the signatures of BS Governor Dr. France Arhar and member of the BS council M.A. Velimir Bole.

Several more new types of coin and paper money are also promised as early as the beginning of next year. As we were told by Janez Majce, head of the department for cash transactions at the BS, a 200-tolar bank note (portraying Jakob Gallus) will be put into circulation in January, and we are expected to get a 50-tolar note with a picture of Jurij Vega at the end of February or the beginning of March. According to Mr. Majce, the largest new tolar denomination, the announced 5,000-tolar bank note with a picture of Ivana Kobilca, is expected to be put into circulation next summer. New coins are also to be put into circulation as early as 4 January—coins for one, two, and five tolars, and a half tolar. It is interesting that the bank notes and the coins have different issuers: In accordance with the law, bank notes are issued by the BS, and coins by the state, i.e., the Finance Ministry. For the time being Slovenia does not have its own printing press or mint for money (some people maliciously say that it is better that that is the case), since the authorities hired foreign experts for that job. As we know, the bank notes are printed on paper from the Radesa paper mill by the well-known English printing firm De La Rue, and the coins are minted by a special mint for this in Slovenia.

Federal

Army Reports Muslim Attacks on FRY Territory

LD1801211993 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2023 GMT 18 Jan 93

[Text] Belgrade, 18 Jan (TANJUG)—Regarding the latest attacks by Muslim forces, which are trying to shift the conflict from Bosnia-Hercegovina to the territory of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY] and thus provide pretexts for the international community to intervene on the territory of former Yugoslavia, the information service of the General Staff of the Yugoslav Army has been authorized to reveal the following:

At around 1200 today, Muslim groups from the territory of former Bosnia-Hercegovina, that is from the village of Kunjarac, fired nine mortars shells on the area around the village of Grabovica.

Enemy weapons and manpower were immediately destroyed. There was no damage or casualties on our side.

Furthermore, this afternoon Muslim terrorist groups in the area of the village of Jagostica tried to cross the Drina river and reach FRY territory in three boats. As a result of action by border units of the Yugoslav Army, all three boats sank and all seven members of the Muslim groups were liquidated.

As during the attack on Bajna Basta and today's attempt to reach FRY territory, the Yugoslav Army will respond with vigor to all attacks and protect the FRY territorial integrity and all its citizens, the statement says.

Cosic Protests to Butrus-Ghali

LD1801181693 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1527 GMT 18 Jan 93

[Text] New York, 18 Jan (TANJUG)—Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY] President Dobrica Cosic has sent a letter to UN Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali, informing him about recent Muslim aggression on the Yugoslav territory. The following is the text of the letter which was handed to the UN secretary general today:

Respected Mr. Secretary General: At a time when progress has been made at the Geneva conference and and when significant peacemaking decisions are forthcoming which could contribute to efforts aimed at ending the tragedy in the former Yugoslav republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, I inform you with utmost concern that Muslim forces carried out aggression on FRY territory yesterday, 16 January.

Within the framework of a general offensive on the territory of the Serb municipality of Bratunac, Muslim forces surrounded several Serb villages and massacred civilians in the early hours of 16 January. They then opened artillery fire on a dam within the Perucac hydroelectric station on FRY territory, with the aim of causing an ecological catastrophe. Due to the gravity of the situation, members of the Yugoslav Army, who are protecting the dam, fired several warning shots. The Muslim forces did not stop targeting the dam, indeed, they opened intensive fire on the power station and units of the Yugoslav Army in the Perucac border post, and then on the town of Bajna Basta, which is on FRY territory.

Apart from a direct assault on buildings and people on FRY territory, the Muslim army attacked the approaches to and a bridge near the village of Skelani, over which civilians were fleeing and wounded and dead were being evacuated. Muslim infantry reached the bridge and threatened to halt the evacuation and massacre the refugees and the wounded, and several members of the Muslim army crossed over into FRY territory.

In such a situation units of the Yugoslav Army undertook necessary countermeasures. With artillery fire they prevented the Muslim army from carrying out further actions and massacring civilians and wounded in the area around the bridge. This made it possible to evacuate the refugees and 150 wounded and 46 dead to FRY territory. This tragic picture is unfortunately not final, because clashes in the Bratunac and Skelani areas are still raging, and Muslim forces fired on FRY territory on the morning of 17 January, which means that they are not abandoning their aggressive aims and ethnic cleansing of the Serb population on the left bank of the Drina.

Mr. Secretary General, I have described these events in order for you to get the right picture about the scale of the crimes committed against civilians and the degree of incursion on FRY territory. This situation makes it imperative to undertake measures to prevent further escalation of conflicts aimed at involving the FRY in the war in Bosnia-Hercegovina by force and provoking an international armed intervention. At this moment too, I face the tragic fact that many in the world do not want to know the truth about the civil war in Bosnia-Hercegovina. How else can we interpret the fact that many foreign television stations rejected an offer by Serbian television to give them, as a part of an exchange, a film showing consequences of the Muslim action, to objectively inform their public. Need I stress that the majority of these countries are directly involved in a search for the solution to the crisis in former Yugoslavia, a process in which the Serbian people are first made out to be devils and then placed in a kind of ghetto, and then presented with ultimatums and sentenced without a trial.

The FRY has drawn attention on several occasions to Muslim war aims and their unscrupulous political methods. Unfortunately, international political fora have not taken our warnings into account. On the contrary, the biased and one-sided conduct of some international factors has encouraged and is encouraging the Muslim side in the Bosnia-Hercegovina civil and religious conflict to act aggressively and provocatively. Constant use of double standards when it comes to the crisis in the former SFRY, and in particular the crisis in Bosnia-Hercegovina, means that the presence of regular units of the army of the Republic of Croatia on the territory of former Bosnia-Hercegovina is being overlooked. Some foreign media, as well as some responsible foreign personalities, have portrayed the entire Serbian nation as a devil; this is a form of racism and open warmongering.

I want to stress: Despite persistent efforts to obstruct the peace process, the FRY will not abandon it, and, furthermore it will intensify efforts aimed at ending the suffering of the people of Bosnia-Hercegovina, find a just political solution, and secure a lasting peace.

I am convinced, respected Mr. Secretary General, that in our struggle for peace and truth, we will continue to enjoy your support and help, and that you will use your influence and authority to remove dangers threatening to end the peace process and annul its efforts and results. I ask you to present this letter to the UN Security Council as an official document. Please receive on this occasion my deepest respect.

The letter was also forwarded to Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen, cochairmen of the international conference on former Yugoslavia.

Corps Commander Reports Attacks

LD1801170193 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1546 GMT 18 Jan 93

[Text] Uzice, 18 Jan (TANJUG)—General Dragoljub Ojdanic, commander of the Yugoslav Army's Uzice Corps, told TANJUG today that "Muslim forces on Bosnia-Hercegovina's territory fired on Uzice Corps watchtowers and units on seven occasions between 6 and 16 January."

Within the framework of an overall attack on Skelani municipality territory and the Serbian people there on 16 January, fire was opened from mortar launchers and small arms on Uzice Corps watchtowers and units, as well as on civilian facilities on Yugoslav territory, including the town of Bajina Basta, Gen Ojdanic said. "We were forced to respond militarily, and the people of Bajina Basta could see this for themselves. We will do the same in the future."

The Uzice Corps and Yugoslav Army members have done their utmost to help evacuate and care for injured civilians from the territory of the Serbian municipality of Skelani.

"As Yugoslav Army members, we will continue consistently to support a peace option, as well as the FRY's military leadership and their efforts to this end. We firmly believe that the international community will finally see through the policy of the Muslim leadership and understand the reasons behind this kind of conduct at the time when there are signs of a positive outcome at the Geneva peace negotiations," Gen Ojdanic concluded.

Serbia

CSCE Told 'No Prison Camps' in Serbia

LD1501223593 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2042 GMT 15 Jan 93

[Text] Belgrade, Jan 15 (TANJUG)—There are no prison camps for Moslems from Bosnia-Hercegovina or any refugee camps in Serbia, and all refugees enjoy the complete freedom of movement like all citizens of this Yugoslav Republic, Serbian Minister of Justice Zoran Cetkovic said on Friday [15 January].

Cetkovic made the statement during a meeting with a delegation of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) headed by Ambassador Kenneth Blackwell, the U.S. representative to the U.N. Commission for Human Rights, the Serbian Ministry of Information reported.

Blackwell said that the mission's aim was to remove all doubts about the existence of such camps and thus improve the atmosphere for dealing with problems in former Yugoslavia.

According to latest statistics, over 600,000 refugees from the territories of former Yugoslavia are now registered in Serbia. The number is believed to be at least a quarter higher because many refugees do not register with the competent authorities but are staying with relatives or friends. Of the total number of people who found refuge in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, 7 percent are Moslems.

Cetkovic expressed the Serbian Government's readiness for all forms of cooperation with the CSCE towards overcoming the enormous problems facing Serbia in taking care of such a large number of refugees from the former Yugoslav republics. He also expressed hope that by its objective report, the CSCE mission will give an adequate contribution to this.

Yugoslav Minister for Human and Minority Rights Momcilo Grubac told the CSCE delegation on Thursday that the F.R. of Yugoslavia did not have on its territory any prison centres for Moslem refugees from Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Bosnian Moslem leaders and some western circles persist in spreading a theory about the existence of such centres in spite of the Yugoslav Government's denial a few months ago. At the time, foreign reporters had the opportunity to see for themselves that there were no prison centres but that Moslems were waiting in refugee camps to be granted political asylum in some of the West European countries.

Milosevic Advocates Partition of Bosnia

PM1501164493 Rome L'ESPRESSO in Italian 17 Jan 93 p76

[Interview with Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic by Daniel S. Schiffer; date and place not given]

[Text] Slobodan Milosevic is still Belgrade's strong man. There are no longer any doubts, after his December electoral victory and after the federal parliament withdrew support from Milan Panic, the prime minister who had the West's confidence. And so he, therefore, is the arbiter of Serbia's destiny and the man most tipped to forge future Balkan scenarios.

[Schiffer] Mr. President, do you too feel that the only solution to the war lies in the transformation of Bosnia into a confederation made up of three independent states (Croatian, Muslim, and Serbian)?

[Milosevic] Yes, that could be the only solution. In fact we are witnessing an inconceivable explosion of hate and cruelty on the part of the three sides in the struggle, and not only on the part of the Serbian side as the Western press would have us believe. This nightmare can only cease with UN recognition of the self-determination of the three peoples on Bosnian territory, with mutual respect for their rights.

[Schiffer] So you do not trust a single and sovereign Bosnia led by Alija Izetbegovic [Bosnian president]? Do you think that in that way the Serbs there might become second-class citizens?

[Milosevic] Yes. The Serbs possess more than 60 percent of the territory and make up 35 percent of the population, as against 45 percent of Muslims and 15 percent of Croats. So we feel we have at least the same rights as the Muslims: And that is what the West will not admit.

[Schiffer] Perhaps. But do you not think that it is equally unfair that the Muslim population, with its 45 percent, now only has 15 percent of the territory?

[Milosevic] Certainly. And it is precisely for that reason that Bosnian Serb President Radovan Karadzic, in Geneva, offered the Muslims another 20 percent of the country, including some industrial areas. As far as I am concerned, I will do all in my power to protect the Muslims' rights in Bosnia once the confederation is recognized. But I am the president of Serbia and not the president of the Serbs in Bosnia, who is Karadzic, with autonomous powers.

[Schiffer] Everyone in the former Yugoslavia has perpetrated slaughter and massacres. And yet only the Serbs are likened to the devil. Why?

[Milosevic] It is an absurd situation for us. I will give you a concrete example. I remember when Lord Carrington [former chairman of the Conference on Yugoslavia], right here in Belgrade, two days after the peace treaty signed between Serbs and Muslims at the London conference was violated, told me in front of 20 people: "I know full well that it was the Muslims who broke the cease-fire; but the world maintains that you are responsible." So I answered: "It is your job to explain the truth to the world! Since if they do not believe me, they have to believe you, who are fully aware of the facts. Do you think it is fair and logical to deny them?"

[Schiffer] The Croats have accepted the new territorial map of Bosnia drawn in Geneva, while the Bosnian Serbs and the Muslims have rejected it. What will happen now?

[Milosevic] In my view, the most important thing is peace. Cyrus Vance [cochairman of the Conference on Yugoslavia] came to Belgrade especially to persuade me to put pressure on Karadzic, in order to get him to accept the peace plan proposed in Geneva.

Radioactive Material Dumped in Old Uranium Mine

AU1801204393 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 18 Jan 93

[Excerpt] The Republican Ministry for Environmental Protection has issued a report about the transport of low-radioactivity material from the Belgrade Institute for the Technology of Nuclear and Other Mineral Raw Materials to the abandoned Kalna uranium mine near Knjazevac. The ecological inspection has investigated this and presented its results at a news conference. Mirjana Georgijev has the details:

[Begin recording] The Kalna uranium mine was closed down in 1963. In 1974, material from the mine was taken to the Institute for the Technology of Nuclear and Other Mineral Raw Materials in Belgrade to be examined. Some of that material was kept unused in the institute until June 1992. In cooperation with the Vinca Nuclear Research Institute, 11 barrels of this low-radioactivity material were taken back to the abandoned Kalna mine without informing the Ministry for Ecological Protection about it. If one knows that the transport even of radioactive lightning rods has to be reported to the Ministry, it is then clear that the Ministry would have to give its consent to this transport, too.

The ecological inspection has established that the mine has been well secured: A guard is on duty 24 hours a day. The fence is partly damaged. There is some old equipment lying about in disorder in the former mine. The said barrels are locked up in a storage and are stored in a safe way.

It has been concluded on the basis of research by competent institutions that environment in this region has not been threatened by increased radioactivity. Nevertheless, the Ministry for Ecological Protection is going to file criminal reports against the Institute for the

Technology of Nuclear and Other Mineral Raw Materials and the Vinca Institute for Nuclear Research. [passage omitted]

Macedonia

Local Serbs Complain of Mistreatment

AU1501165693 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 15 Jan 93

[Text] The meeting of all Serbs in Macedonia is scheduled to be held in the village of Kuceviste near Skopje at 1700. The purpose is to present the real truth about the (?unfair) position of Serbs in Macedonian, and to draw public attention to the constant attacks by the authorities and police on Serbs and Montenegrins. In view of the increasing attacks on Serbs in Macedonia, who in no way have provoked the police to behave toward them in this way, the Serbs held a news conference in Skopje today. Boris Djordjioski reports from Skopje:

[Djordjioski] The news conference is the result of frequent provocations against Serbs and Montenegrins in Macedonia by the Macedonian authorities, and the need to inform the public about the truth. This was stated by Boro Ristic, president of the Democratic Party of Serbs. He particularly stressed the incident that occurred in the village of Kuceviste, in Skopje Crna Gora, when the police attacked the local youths. Ristic says that a police provocateur, whom they know very well, hoisted a Yugoslav flag two hours before midnight on New Year's Eve to provoke the police, who sent some 200 officers to the scene.

They did not allow the youths to take the flag down but rather removed it themselves, tearing and trampling it. This irritated the 300 youths present and fighting broke out, lasting two hours. Thirteen youths were injured. One is still in a hospital and will probably lose his sight due to being struck directly by a chemical bomb thrown by the police.

Ristic holds that the Kuceviste incident was supposed to serve the Macedonian authorities as justification for the arrival of UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] members. He said that the Kumanovo Serbs are openly protesting the deployment of the peacekeepers on the border with Serbia. The police continue to mistreat and arrest the youths of Kuceviste. The Serbs, not only in Kuceviste but in other places such as Cepinci, Tromedja, Recica, and Kumanovo, are mistreated because they wear national insignia and traditional Serbian caps and sing Serbian songs. This does not apply only to Serbs, but to all who feel like Yugoslavs or are Yugoslav-oriented.

Borivoje Tomic, vice president of the Democratic Party of Serbs, said that the Serbs have not given a single reason to the Macedonian authorities to behave in this way toward them. If such attacks continue, the Serbs will organize and carry out protective measures. They count on the help of their parent country.

The Serbs demand that early elections be held in Macedonia by the end of May. They are also calling for a referendum at which people would be enable to vote on whether they want to be part of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. They want a census to be held by the end of 1993, because there are about 300,000 Serbs in Macedonia, considerably more number than the current Macedonian authorities and statistics claim. They will not recognize Macedonia as their own state if the Serbs are not guaranteed the status of a nation.

The Serbs have been dropped from the Macedonian Constitution and will never accept the status of a minority or ethnic group. They are opposed to the federalization of Macedonia between Macedonians and ethnic Albanians. They do not recognize the Macedonian national state, but rather Macedonia as a state of all of its citizens.

The speeches by some participants in the Kuceviste incident and the answers by the Democratic Party of Serbs resulted in a fair amount of confusion and contradiction. A young Kuceviste man said that it was the young people themselves who hoisted the Yugoslav flag and not the police. Tomic denied that the Serbs will demand help, especially military assistance, from their parent state of Serbia.

Reporters remarked that the statements sounded like ultimatums, and that more responsibility should be demonstrated during the crisis to avoid what could happen if dialogue ended.

Kosovo Serbs Refused Entrance to Republic

LD1501220193 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1958 GMT 15 Jan 93

[Text] Pristina, 15 Jan (TANJUG)—The Macedonian police today refused permission to a group of about 100 Serbs from Kosovo and Metohija to enter the Republic of Macedonia.

The group of Serbs from Urosevac and a number of other places in Kosmet wanted to take part in this evening's protest meeting of Macedonian Serbs in the village of Kuceviste, Skopje Crna Gora.

At the Djeneral Jankovic Yugoslav-Macedonian border crossing the Macedonian police stopped a coach with the Serbs from Kosmet and refused to allow them onto Macedonian territory, explaining that the Serbs did not possess valid documents.

A similar fate befell two Kosovo journalists, Miomir Kikovic, a VECERNJE NOVOSTI correspondent from Pristina, and Rade Tomic, a Pristina radio correspondent, as well as Miso Albijanic, president of the Pristina Non-party Homeland Association.

While Tomic was sent back from the Djeneral Jankovic crossing, also because of invalid documents, Albijanic and Kikovic were allowed onto Macedonian territory. However, after several checks by the Macedonian police, Albijanic and Kikovic had to return because they arrived from Mirkovci near Kuceviste, and were not allowed into Kuceviste.

Montenegro

President Bulatovic Addresses Assembly

AU1501212093 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 15 Jan 93

[Report by Bozo Brajkovic from Podgorica]

[Excerpts] The inaugural republic parliament session was held in Podgorica today. The session verified the deputies' mandates, adopted provisional rules of procedure, and elected a chairman for the next four-year period. The session confirmed the election of 85 deputies.

According to the election results, the ruling Democratic Party of Socialists will have 46 deputies in parliament, the strongest opposition party, the People's Party, will have 14, the Liberal Alliance of Montenegro will have 13, the Serbian Radical Party will have eight, and the Social-Democratic Party of Socialists will have four. [passage omitted]

At the end of the session, the deputies were addressed by President Momir Bulatovic:

[Begin Bulatovic recording] I finally believe that all our political activities will be conducted under more favorable circumstances than those created by our immediate as well more distant neighbors. I am convinced that this assembly will support every peace initiative, above all, in the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, and that it will strive for what is the objectively possible level of normalization of relations with the states that emerged from the former Yugoslavia. This is the path with which we will secure the lasting protection of our personal, state, and national interests, and regain the respect and reputation due us as a member of the international community and regional associations. [end recording]

At the end of the session Chairman Risto Vukcevic announced another one, where new vice chairmen will be elected after the consultations of the caucuses.

Foreign Minister, Albanian Counterpart Hold Talks

LD1801190493 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 18 Jan 93

[Text] Podgprica, 18 Jan (TANJUG)—On his way back from Italy on 17 January, Montenegrin Foreign Minister Miodrag Lekic met with Albanian Foreign Minister Alfred Serreqi. In an hour long talk which, according to a statement today, took place upon initiatve of the Albanian side, views were exchanged about the current political situation in the two countries and bilateral cooperation. Both sides expressed an interest in intensifying bilateral cooperation in the political, economic, and cultural spheres.

An initiative was launched to set up a meeting between the two countries' economic delegations to discuss the possibility of implementing concrete economic programs and of improving across-the-border trade. In this context reference was also made to the need to liberalize the conditions and the regime of border crossing, the Montenegro Foreign Ministry says in the statement.

In the course of the talk, the foreign ministers of Montenegro and Albania placed particular emphasis on the need to continue good-neighborly cooperation and bilateral dialogue.